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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE
UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

ON

S. J. RES. 1

A JOINT RESOLUTION PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES EXTENDING THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN

Printed for the use of the Committee on Woman Suffrage

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COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

CHARLES S. THOMAS, Colorado, *Chairman.*

ROBERT L. OWEN, Oklahoma.	GEORGE SUTHERLAND, Utah.
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GEORGE B. LANG, *Clerk.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

MONDAY, APRIL 19, 1913.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
UNITED STATES SENATE.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., being called to order by the chairman, Senator Thomas. Present: Senators Thomas (chairman), Owen, Ashurst, Sutherland, Hollis, Ransdell, Clapp, and Jones.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has met for the purpose of considering S. J. Res. 1, which is as follows:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

This hearing will be devoted to a discussion of the question of equal suffrage by those who are opposed to the measure, and I will call upon Mrs. Dodge, who, I think, is the lady in charge, representing that side of the proposition. The committee will sit for 2 hours, which time will be devoted to Mrs. Dodge and those whom she may have assigned to speak, after which, for about 20 minutes, the committee will hear from Mrs. Hale, and then take a recess until Monday at 10 o'clock, when the other side will be presented, and the day will be devoted to that side of the question.

The committee is ready to proceed, and the Chair would be glad if Mrs. Dodge would inform us who the speakers are and the time which it is desired they should occupy.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mrs. DODGE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, before starting the arguments on our side by the two or three speakers I shall introduce, I should like to read a short statement of the national association which I represent, as it is a comparatively new organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The time is yours to dispose of as you desire.

Mrs. DODGE. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in November, 1912, for the purpose of bringing the different State associations together in order that there might be a similar policy of work adopted in States where associations existed, and to organize opposition to woman suffrage in States where no association was yet formed.

The eight State associations then existing, which organized the national, were Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Rhode Island, Maryland, and the District of Columbia associations. Within four months associations were formed in Ohio, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Virginia, Connecticut, and later in the year New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, and recently Michigan.

In no State where there is a strong organization against woman suffrage has woman-suffrage legislation been carried except in Oregon, where the influence of the radical element was undoubtedly the chief factor in the result; and in California, where the organized opposition in San Francisco and Los Angeles was too recent and inexperienced to be able to reach all the voters of the State, and the constitution was amended by the scant majority of 3,500. In the other three States, where the question was brought to the people and where our association existed, the majorities against woman suffrage when voted upon by the electorate have been very large. In Ohio, 87,000; Wisconsin, 90,000; and in Michigan, the last returns telegraphed to me this morning, 85,000.

The legislatures of Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota have vote to have the question decided by the electorate, and in the following the legislatures have decided against having it submitted to the people: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, Virginia, Minnesota, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and Delaware.

In New Jersey it was voted to send an amendment to the people, but the constitutionality of the amendment has been questioned.

In New York the present legislature has voted favorably on a woman-suffrage amendment, but it must be voted on again by the legislature of 1914 before it can go to the electorate. The New York State Anti-Suffrage Association withdrew all opposition to the bill on the ground that all three parties having inserted in their platforms a recommendation that the question go to the voters of the State, it had become a political issue and should go to the voters.

That State association has always favored a submission of the question to the women of the State, a measure which is called the referendum for the women, which is opposed by the suffragists all over the country.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has no membership list separate from those of the State associations. The members of these organizations become members of the national organization. All the members are women over 21 years old, neither men nor children being included. Men's leagues are already organized in seven States, the one in Michigan numbering 5,000.

The majority of our members, probably two-thirds, are self-supporting or wage-earning women, although, as the lists are not kept separate, the exact proportion is uncertain.

The policy of the State association in regard to increasing their membership has been conservative. Until there has been immediate or threatened danger, our work has been done quietly along lines of education by means of literature. The recent activities of the suffragists have obliged us to change this, and we are now taking more active steps toward publicity and enrollment of members.

The women who have been and are most active on our State boards are also active in all lines of charitable, educational, civic, and municipal work, but neither they nor members of the associations have withdrawn their contribution of money or time or services from these other channels to devote themselves to antisuffrage work, although the antisuffragists have done so in many cases, to work for the suffrage cause, in fact to such an increasing degree that we sometimes think that if suffrage is not brought very soon to these women in the different States, the men and the antisuffragists will be the only ones left to conduct these enterprises along larger and broader lines.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I shall ask your consideration of the arguments that we have to present, believing we voice the opinion of a majority of women in this country, who think we serve the State and community and humanity best out of public life or politics.

The first paper will be read by Mrs. Putnam, and it is by Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin (Mrs. George C. Riggs), of New York.

Mrs. PUTNAM. The author of Rebecca of the Sunny Brook Farm is not only a woman closely in touch with the aims and needs of American women and children by favor of her work as a writer, but her early training was that of a trained kindergartner, and whatever she may say of woman's work is founded on a knowledge of the principles of education.

REMARKS OF MRS. KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN.

I am probably an antisuffragist by instinct and temperament, but all the experience of my busy life has confirmed my natural attitude of mind. I would not for the world retard the development of woman nor hamper her in her struggle for still greater freedom than she now possesses, though to my mind she has not at any time gone to the limit of her powers under present conditions, but I can not believe that the ballot is the first or the next or the best thing to work for. I want her to be a good home maker, a good mother, and a loyal, intelligent, active citizen, but above all to be a helpful, stimulating, inspiring force in the world rather than a useful and influential factor in politics. I do not question a woman's ability to concentrate her mind on political questions, to grow steadily in knowledge and power, and to vote wisely and conscientiously, but I would prefer her to develop still higher powers, for there are higher ones.

It is even more difficult to be an inspiring woman than a good citizen and an honest voter, and if you declare your ability to be all three I shall continue to believe that the first of the three will continually be lost in the development of the other two. Nobody can say that the services of local or national government demands as concentrated a use of woman's powers as the service of humanity.

A woman's "job," to my mind, is with other women, with children, and with men, who, next to children, are most dependent upon what

she thinks and says and does and is. Her peculiar "job," I say, is with men, women, and children—their bodies, their hearts, and their souls. I would have woman strong enough to bear the burden of the weak, to rescue and educate derelicts, to make life cleaner, safer, saner, more upright than it is now. I would have her strong enough to keep just a trifle in the background. She spoils the composition of many a good picture just now by wanting the center of the stage and all the limelight that the electrician can furnish. The limelight never makes anything grow; it only causes the thing to look a little different than it is. If woman is as strong as she ought to be she should be called continually in council to advise, to consult, and cooperate with men wherever her peculiar gifts are valuable. If she enjoys and uses these rights and privileges she does not need the ballot. [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. The next will be a paper by Miss Molly Elliot Seawell.

(The following paper was read by Miss Price:)

CONCERNING THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, BY MOLLY ELLIOT SEAWELL.

The proposed eighteenth constitutional amendment, giving suffrage to women, carries with it the principle that the Federal Government shall regulate the electorate of the States. This principle, as embodied in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, was regarded and is still regarded by all the States having race problems as not only an invasion of their rights but an assault upon their civilization. The right of a State to control its own electorate is a right of the first importance, and no State has yet been found which really yielded this right. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were hasty and retaliatory legislation that proved intolerable to the States and unworkable by the Federal Government. It brought about conditions of dangerous and continual conflicts between the Federal and State Governments. It eventually became a dead letter by virtue of hostile legislation in the States affected by it, and this legislation has been upheld by the courts.

The same objections exist now as in 1867 to the interference of the Federal Government with the electorates of the States. The States may have woman suffrage without yielding so vast and alarming a share of their rights to the Federal Government. And if the States were disposed to give away a right so vital as the regulation of their own electorates for a purpose which could easily be accomplished without it, such an amendment would still have to stand the test of the courts, as did the fifteenth amendment, and probably with the same result. All the forces of civilization were arrayed against those two amendments, and they are to-day as dead as the Pharaohs. So is the principle that the Federal Government may regulate the electorate of a State. It has been tried and found ruinous. If the woman-suffrage amendment should pass the Congress and be submitted to the States, it is doubtful if a single State would agree to surrender so vast and alarming a power to the Federal Government for woman suffrage, which any State may have without surrendering anything. It is, however, practically certain that at least 19 States will not only refuse but would resist any at-

tempt to hand over to the Federal Government their right to regulate their own electorate, which is a right upon which these 19 States consider their civilization is based. These States are the 11 seceding States, which could of themselves, with 2 additional States, defeat any amendment designed to interfere with their electorates. To these 11 States may safely be added 5 States with large negro populations—Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, and Kentucky. Combined with these are 3 Pacific coast States—California, Oregon, and Washington—that have Chinese and Japanese populations which do not vote, and those States are as determined that the Chinese and Japanese shall not vote as the Southern States are determined that the negro shall not vote. These States may be relied upon to resist to the last extremity the admission of the principle that the Federal Government may control their electorates.

The first fruits of this suffrage amendment would be to admit negro women to the polls, although 11 States have successfully defied the Federal Government in every effort to admit negro men to the polls. The same may be said of the three Pacific Coast States, and the success of the Southern States in defying the authority of the Federal Government to interfere with their electorates will not be lost on these Pacific Coast States. At the time of the passage of the Geary exclusion act the Pacific Coast States were unanimous in declaring that whether the Federal Government prohibited the free entrance of the Chinese or not they should not freely enter those States. At the present moment, with regard to the Japanese, California is declaring its right to keep out Asiatics. In this, as in the case of the Southern States, the people are following the great natural law of self-preservation, which overrides the statute law, the law of treaties, the authority of the Federal Government, and even the judicial power. Moreover, three Pacific Coast States—California, Oregon, and Washington—already have woman suffrage. As a matter of fact, Chinese women voted in San Francisco at the election in November, 1912. But it is safe to say that neither Chinese nor Japanese women would in general be allowed to vote in the three Pacific Coast States; nor would negro women be permitted to vote in the 16 States with large negro populations. Nor would any of those States adopt any amendment which would make it possible for these women of differing and inferior races to vote any more than they allow Chinese, Japanese, or negro men to vote.

But not only is this right to regulate its own electorate an inherent and actually a natural right of the States, but it is a safeguard to the Federal Government. It relieves the Federal Government of a fearful responsibility; and it can say to foreign nations, as Charles the Second of England said to a great foreign power: "I have no right to give the order; and if I give it, no one will obey me." So strong is the determination to control their own electorates in these 19 States where there are race problems that it is doubtful if a single representative in either branch of Congress could vote for any amendment carrying with it Federal interference in the electorate without losing his seat at the next election.

The representatives from the Pacific coast suffrage States would be in a singular predicament. If they voted for the suffrage amendment, they would vote for giving Chinese and Japanese women the ballot,

while the sentiment in those States is overwhelmingly against giving Chinese and Japanese men the ballot. If they voted against the suffrage amendment they would vote against a measure already adopted by their constituents. It is safe to say that no man from the 11 Southern States will under any conceivable circumstances vote to admit negro women to the polls. Thus, the suffrage amendment is certain to be defeated in at least 19 States, which will insure the defeat of the amendment. Concerning other States it is very doubtful if large States like New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, with great alien populations, would hand over the right to control this important matter of the electorate to the Federal Government. The weaker States, like Delaware, Rhode Island, and Nevada, would also be very unlikely to give away such extreme power to the Federal Government, as they would be unable to resist force, which the Southern States practically did in elections during the reconstruction period. It would be a very easy matter for the Federal Government to control the elections in those weaker States, but a very difficult thing to control elections in Virginia, New York, or any powerful State. So the weaker States may be depended upon, for obvious reasons, to refuse their consent to any encroachment upon their control of their own electorate. If any State were to adopt the amendment, the State constitution would have to be revised, as the constitutions of all the States are based upon the theory that the State alone regulates its electorate. The revision of constitutions is a troublesome and costly business. In fact, there would seem to be no reaon why any State should give up so much of its power and incur all the dangers and disorders which attended the first and last attempt of the Federal Government to control the electorate of the States for woman suffrage, which any State may acquire at any time without giving up anything.

The history of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments shows that they were not only successfully defied in the very States which it was intended to affect, and that every effort at a force bill resulted in the defeat of the House of Representatives which proposed it, but while these amendments declared that negroes should vote, and that voters should not be restricted by race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the State of Oregon was living under a constitution which restricted voting to "white males." The same provision existed in the constitution of Ohio.

The suffrage amendment, in the unlikely event that it would be adopted, would have to define the qualifications of all the voters in all the States, and these qualifications would have to be identical; otherwise it would conflict with that clause of the Constitution prohibiting a State from granting privileges to the citizens of one State which it does not grant to the citizens of all the States. One of the shrieking and screaming absurdities in the proposed amendment is that as there is no provision in the Constitution for the votes of men, it would appear, on the face of the document, as if women only were allowed to vote in the United States. What sort of government would result from this huge, helpless, and irresponsible electorate of white women, black women, and yellow women enacting laws which they could not enforce or even administer, creating a privileged class of voters, none of whom could perform naval, military, police, firemen's or any life-saving duty, nor to assist in maintaining order

or in enforcing the law, remains to be seen. It is true that all of the beneficiaries of the women's votes unite in praising the bridge that carried them over; and Senator Shafroth, who is a voter in the first congressional district of Colorado, the Denver district, which is on record in the second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress as the most corrupt electorate the United States ever saw, goes much further, and pays a neat tribute to himself. In a letter to the Woman's Journal, a suffrage organ, Senator (then Gov.) Shafroth wrote:

Equal suffrage has been a great success in Colorado. It has established a high standard of morals in political parties and in officeholders.

It shows a remarkable unfamiliarity with the Government, history, and politics of the United States that any organization should ask the adoption of an amendment in no way essential to the cause of woman suffrage, probable of defeat in Congress, and certain of defeat if ever it is submitted to the States. [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. Miss Lucy J. Price from Cleveland, Ohio, will tell us something of her experiences in the recent campaign.

Miss LUCY J. PRICE, of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am going to talk of the campaigns which I have been through, because that is the best way, the most assured way, in which I know politics, from a woman's point of view, and from which I know the results of women in politics.

I have just come from Michigan, which you have heard spoken of as the State that has just defeated woman suffrage by 85,000, and I know something of what actual campaigning is and what it will be if women have the vote thrust upon them.

There were a great many things which led to the raising of a majority of 732 against woman suffrage in Michigan last November, to 85,000 this spring; and they were all the results not of the concentration of the forces of the antis, as the suffragists have said, but of the sober second thought of the men who voted.

Dr. Shaw is authority for saying that it seemed as though last November it must have been unanimous in Michigan against suffrage because every man she met there just before this election said he did vote for it last November but since he had thought about it he should vote against it this spring. The men did think about it, and that is why it was defeated, and these are a few of the things which made them think.

In the first place, the suffrage organization absolutely deny having any affiliation with any party. They regretted bitterly that Miss Addams had affiliated herself with the Progressive Party, and they urged against their members taking any steps indorsing any party, not as an organization but as individuals. They wanted their members to keep out of politics. Why? Because they had a cause to promote and they realized they could promote that cause better by not being affiliated with parties.

That is what we are maintaining all the time, only our causes are causes of child labor, causes of child welfare, and the various reforms of the country, and we maintain—what the suffragists admitted in their campaign—that they can be better fought for without the people who are fighting for them being allied or identified with any political factions or parties.

The stand of the suffragists upon the temperance question is another thing which defeated them in Michigan. I do not mean by

this that the liquor interests defeated them as the suffragists claim. We did not object, and neither the liquor people nor the Prohibitionists objected to the suffragists saying, "We are Prohibitionists." We did not object to their saying, "We are not for prohibition." We thought it was the wisest thing any party could do when they said, "We have no stand either way." But what the men of Michigan did object to was the exhibition of practical politics thrust upon them by the stand the suffragists took upon the liquor question, when they begged the people of Detroit and the larger cities to believe that they were not going to hurt the liquor interests, and that they never had been opposed to the liquor interests, and then at the same time told the people in other parts of the State that a vote for suffrage was a vote for prohibition, and that the fight against suffrage was allied with the liquor interests.

That is what they objected to, not simply because they objected to a double standard in regard to two parts of the State, but because they saw that women in politics means more practical politicians—not more people trying to purify conditions, but more practical politics carried on by women as well as men—and in that campaign they saw that the women did adopt practical political standards when they were fighting in politics.

Another thing which has made us more bitterly antisuffrage and which helped us in Michigan was the realization of what the men were doing when they put upon an unwilling electorate responsibilities and warfare campaigning. That was the personal attacks made upon us by the women with whom we happened to disagree. They said upon various occasions, if you will pardon my being personal, they said that I was employed by the liquor interests of Michigan, that the brewers of Detroit were paying my expenses, and in Port Huron, although advertised as Miss Price, they said I was the wife of a saloon keeper. That is not a pleasant thing to have said about you—even if you were interested in the liquor business, and even if you were the wife of a saloon keeper—that when you are working for a cause because you honestly believe that cause is right, and when you are fighting against a cause because you believe it is a menace to the State and to womanhood, it is not a pleasant thing to have it said that you are hired by selfish interests for selfish and corrupt purposes. But it is practical politics. It is what we must expect when we are in politics. It is the position you will be putting your mothers and wives and sisters in if you vote for woman suffrage.

If they do not agree with every party and every person and every acquaintance on any subject that comes up they lay themselves open to just such attacks, and when you say that very few will go into politics you are taking going into politics in the wrong sense. If woman suffrage is granted you are putting every woman into politics, even if she only votes once. There will be a time when some friend or husband of a friend or some friend's enemy is running for office, and she will be forced to enter politics at least to the extent of voting, of voicing her opinion at the polls.

The suffragists tell us this is not a serious matter, that it is a sentimental matter that makes us object and that we will get over it. In fact, they say the solution of the question is that we will get used to it.

Now, gentlemen of the committee, I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that when the time comes that women get used to such attacks, when they get used to being called liars and thieves and bribers in the papers and by politicians, as men politicians are called and must expect to be called if they are in politics—when the women get used to that we will reach a point of tragedy in the history of this country. When both sides of the race, both halves of the parentage, are forced to lose their sensibility to public attack and public opinion, when they are forced to become as hardened and callous as men are forced to become in the warfare of politics, it means a tragedy for the coming race and the future generations of this country.

Another phase of that campaigning by the women of the State, which brought home to the men of the State what they were thrusting upon the women of their families with the granting of the franchise was that impressed upon them by the active campaigning and the attitude of mind and nerves, possibly, most of all, which the women portrayed in the last few weeks of their fight for the vote.

The sight of pretty girls passing out literature and pleading for votes with men whom they did not know was spoken of by a member of the Cleveland board of elections as a vital factor toward the majority against suffrage given in that city when the people of Ohio voted on the suffrage question last September. This same thing had its effect in Michigan. The actual field of politics was entered by those women in the sense of pleading for votes, arguing with the men on the street corners, and the general political dickering which can not be eliminated from politics, if we are to judge by those efforts of the women asking for that amendment. Then—and now I am speaking of that condition of nerves referred to—in Michigan we saw, in our headquarters, at our meetings, and at practically every place where the suffragists came in contact with our work, the first steps of that hysteria which I believe is the starting point of militancy. The women did not mean, I believe, to take quite the attitude toward other women that they took toward us. It was nerves, hysteria, but apparently it was an inseparable element of woman in politics. And it was not conducive to the development of the idea that the best work a woman can do for the world and the race lies in the field of political warfare.

It is absolutely essential that men and women should remember that men and women have a different purpose in life, that they have a different service to the State, and that they can best use that service, that they can best serve the State, by maintaining the qualities which have helped them to promote civilization.

The definition of citizenship from the Century Dictionary, which says that a citizen stands in reciprocal relation to the Government; allegiance is due the citizen from the Government and protection by the Government to the citizen, is the one that I most like. It shows that we as women have allegiance to the Government and that we must serve the Government as best we can and not as our political ambitions would direct.

These are a few of the things which the men in Michigan were made to realize between the months of November and April. They were a few of the things which piled up the majority in favor of anti-

suffrage, the vote against suffrage, from a majority of 732 to 85,000; and I believe, gentlemen, that these reasons, which affected the State of Michigan, are sufficiently fundamental to deserve the consideration of every voter and every Senator and every committeeman and every man in this country. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. Our next speaker will be Mrs. A. J. George, organizing secretary of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. She will welcome questions from the committee.

ARGUMENT OF MRS. A. J. GEORGE, OF BROOKLINE, MASS.

Mrs. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appears before this committee, which is understood already to be committed to a favorable report, in order that it may place on record the principles which are held by what is undoubtedly the majority of the women of this country, in regard to the distribution of the duties of life among men and women. The vote is far from being the whole story in this dispute.

The question of recommending an amendment to the Constitution of the United States interferes with our State system of determining the electorate—a system which up to the present time has been shown to advantage; particularly where those most concerned are not able to vote upon the question it is desirable that the State should hesitate to confer the franchise upon an electorate the majority of which is acknowledged to be indifferent or opposed to the exercise of the franchise, and it is desirable that the State should wait until the actual balance of opinion is shown to be with those who demand the extension of the franchise before so extending it.

Since the days of the *Mayflower* compact to the time of the Arizona constitution we have been a people bound to obedience under what is undubtedly the will of the majority; that the majority of the women of this country do not desire the suffrage, and that in no selfish way, but do not look upon the ballot as the best means of contributing their social efficiency to the body politic is shown by the fact that when the question is submitted to women a very small percentage of women go on record as in favor of woman suffrage.

The figures of the National Suffrage Association show that a scant 8 per cent of the women of voting age in this country are enrolled as suffragists, and surely we can reasonably assume that if an American woman wants a thing she is quite likely to ask for it.

The only State which has had a poll of all the women of the State made possible is my own State of Massachusetts. In 1895 all persons who were eligible to vote for school committee were eligible to vote on the question submitted at the general election in November, Is it expedient that municipal suffrage should be granted to the women of Massachusetts?

Many people are in favor of municipal suffrage who do not advocate full suffrage for women. The suffragists had a splendid organization, 50 years old. They did everything they could during that summer of 1895 to bring out a large vote in favor of municipal suffrage for the women of Massachusetts.

Our association was organized only in May of that year. There was also a man suffrage association, with Hon. Eben S. Draper as president, which worked to bring out the men's vote against the question, but urged the women who were opposed not to go on record, but to let the stay-at-home votes show the indifference of the average woman of Massachusetts. What was the result? Four per cent of the women of Massachusetts cared enough about municipal suffrage to go to the polls and register in favor of it at that November election.

The majority given by the men was the largest majority ever given to any question submitted to the people of the State. Every county and every congressional, councillor, senatorial, and representative district in the Commonwealth cast a majority against the proposition. The majority against woman suffrage in Massachusetts was more than twice as great as that against either prohibition or biennial elections.

That was in 1895, and you may say the world has moved rapidly since those days and that we should have another vote of the women now. It is an extraordinary thing that wherever you suggest to the suffragists that this measure should be submitted to the women they make lively opposition. In other words, they say that woman must have the ballot on every other question save this one in which she is most vitally concerned; and they contend that an electorate of men can properly decide this question, although an electorate of women must be enfranchised in order to properly decide all other questions.

There is nothing that so frightens a suffragist as a suggestion that this question be submitted to a vote of the women. They remember our vote in Massachusetts of 1895, where only 4 per cent of the women went on record in favor of woman suffrage, and they also remember that the membership of the National Suffrage Association is a small percentage of the women of the country, and they know, too, that where women have the opportunity to vote, when the novelty of the thing is passed, we find a small proportion of women voting.

In my State women have had the right to vote for school committees since 1879. A woman need only tell her age, which is a difficult proposition sometimes to make to the woman. You may smile, but you must remember that the first legislation put through in Colorado and the first legislation put through in California after women were enfranchised was a bill that a woman need only declare that she is of voting age. That is not equal rights; that is special privilege. But in my State if a woman is brave enough to tell her age and is a citizen she can register and vote for school committee without paying any poll tax. She paid a poll tax from 1879 to 1884. In 1884 the prepayment of a poll tax by men as a qualification for voting was done away with. It is not necessary now for anyone to show a receipt of payment of poll tax. It is only necessary to show that the voter has been assessed a poll tax, and a woman does not have to pay any poll tax whatever. Yet in Massachusetts in the last 17 years we have had a registration of women amounting to 4.8 per cent throughout the State of all the women who could register and vote, and of those only 2.1 per cent, less than 50 per cent of those registered, got to the polls on election day.

In 1879 the suffragists, eager and zealous and sincere women, who looked upon the ballot as the best means of showing woman's social

efficiency, said, "Evidently we can not hope for the full franchise at present, but give us the school vote and we will show you what we will do with it." And they have made a clear case for the anti-suffragists.

You may say that this is a peculiar situation, that men would not vote if they could vote only on school matters, but the women said, "Give it to us as a test of our interest, and we will show you what we will do."

In Boston last year, where the situation was very clear, we had a candidate of the machine and we had a woman candidate for the school board. We had not had a woman member of the school board for seven years. In passing it is interesting to note that we have had as strong women, if not stronger women, on our school boards in Massachusetts under the votes of men than we have had under the votes of men and women. But this year the issue was very clear. We had a machine candidate against a woman. The suffragists refused to indorse the woman because she would not indorse woman suffrage. She did not say she was opposed to woman suffrage, but she did not indorse woman suffrage. There was no question of her fitness; there was no question of her ability, because of her long training in educational work; but the suffragists refused to indorse her because she would not indorse the special means by which they proposed to better the conditions of our educational system.

Yet we found that under these conditions in this year 1913 fewer women went to the polls on election day than have gone any time since 1879, with two exceptions, and the votes of the men elected that woman.

We have never had so much agitation for woman suffrage in Boston and we have never had so little exercise of the suffrage which the women now hold.

The same holds true in Connecticut. From 2½ to 3 per cent of the women who can register and vote do so. The very day before the Connecticut women went before the Legislature of Connecticut to ask for the full vote there was a school election in Hartford, Conn. Eighteen thousand women were entitled to register and vote at that election, and 95 women cast their vote on election day.

A current magazine widely circulated (The Outlook of Apr. 19, 1913, p. 839) cites the vote in the town of Dedham, Mass. Dedham is a fortunate town, and a particularly fair town to cite in evidence of woman's readiness to use the school suffrage. This magazine citation, however, does not take the actual number of votes cast, but does take the number of registered voters, and gives 49 as the number of the women voters in Dedham this year. As a matter of fact this was the number of women registered, for not a single woman has remembered it was election day for 11 years—for 11 years in the town of Dedham. I will leave with the clerk the figures furnished by the town clerk of Dedham:

OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK,
Dedham, Mass., April 12, 1913.

List of male and female voters in Dedham from the year 1879 to 1912, and also the number of men and women who voted between the years 1879 and 1912.[1]

	Voters.		Actually voted.			Voters.		Actually voted.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1889	1,264	154	756	154	1902	1,642	74	1,271	3
1890	1,359	180	766	58	1903	1,643	72	1,240	1
1891	1,367	91	916	34	1904	1,670	69	1,113	0
1892	1,505	74	1,001	10	1905	1,634	65	1,326	0
1893	1,534	41	1,078	32	1906	1,687	65	1,422	0
1894	1,536	116	1,264	19	1907	1,687	63	1,340	0
1895	1,573	116	1,201	2	1908	1,710	60	1,354	0
1896	1,665	101	1,311	37	1909	1,681	56	1,260	0
1897	1,423	102	1,306	43	1910	1,793	55	1,439	0
1898	1,476	91	1,189	59	1911	1,803	55	1,540	0
1899	1,471	82	1,194	17	1912	1,884	49	1,587	0
1900	1,574	79	1,186	2	1913	1,948	49	1,609	0
1901	1,570	78	1,249	32					

[1] 1879–1888, no record of number of voters or vote cast.

It is very difficult to give the figures in regard to the woman's vote in the suffrage States, because we are told by the secretaries of state of those States, that the votes of men and women are not segregated, they are not kept separate. I have it, however, on the authority of the commissioner of elections in San Francisco that "about two-thirds" of the registered women voted at the election of November 5, 1912. The commissioner reports that two-thirds of the registered women voters and two-thirds of the registered men voters voted. But he gives figures which show that only 39 per cent of the women registered. Therefore if only two-thirds of them got to the polls on November 5, only 26 per cent of the women of San Francisco availed themselves of the opportunity to vote for the first time in the history of their State for presidential electors on November 5, 1912.

Three years ago here in Washington you were told that there was to be a petition signed by a million women presented to Congress, and when that petition was presented it contained in round numbers the signatures of 160,000 women, of 122,000 men, and, according to suffrage reports, official reports, 119,000 unclassified. If they are not men or women I hardly know in what class we shall put that 119,000.

A VOICE. Children.

Mrs. GEORGE. Some one suggests children. I have a photograph of the youngest member of the National Suffrage Association, and it is a baby 6 weeks of age. We saw in the parade last May babies wheeled up the street with the sign, "I wish mother could vote" on the perambulators. We also saw boys 12 years of age carrying banners, "I wish our schoolteacher could vote"; but, gentlemen, the matter of the extension of the suffrage to women is a more serious matter than questions of tariff or finance, and I fancy that the members of this committee would not give great weight to babies' arguments in regard to tariff or finance, or would not even take the experience of 12-year-old boys as a safe guide in a fundamental principle of government. [Applause.]

In Ohio in September last there was a majority of 87,000 against woman suffrage, and that majority was rolled up not because the special interests were opposed to women suffrage, not because men wished to withhold from women something which the men had, but because the average voter in Ohio voted as he believed the women he knew wished him to vote, and only 19 out of 88 counties in Ohio voted "yes" on the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage.

In New Hampshire a vote of the constitutional convention of that State was taken on June 20, 1912. The measure to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage had gone through the constitutional convention 10 years before, and had been defeated at the polls. Last June a similar measure did not even get through the constitutional convention, but was there defeated by a vote of 208 to 149, and, largely, we believe, because of the organized opposition of the women of New Hampshire, who believe that woman can best do her work apart from party politics. In three weeks the women of New Hampshire who had been roused to the dangers of the woman-suffrage propaganda, in three weeks those women collected one-half as many names of women 21 years of age and over—that is, possible voters—opposed to woman suffrage as the suffragists had gathered of men, women, and minors in 40 years of agitation. They reported about 3,500 signatures collected in three weeks as against 7,000 signatures collected "with great effort" by the suffragists in 40 years.

In 1848 the first woman's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, N. Y., and at that time a long list of grievances was drawn up, known as the "Declaration of sentiments." It forms interesting reading. I quote briefly:

> The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpation on the part of man toward woman, having as the indirect object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.
>
> Man has endeavored in every way he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

And so the citation of "grievances" goes on, and always "her inalienable right to the elective franchise" is urged as the means to free women and girls from the yoke of men.

In 1848 there were many injustices and inequalities for women before the law still existing from the common law which we had inherited from England. It is a curious thing, however, that while all this agitation for woman suffrage has gone on, with the attempt to show that woman must have the ballot in order to be an equal with man, woman has had an increasing recognition of her legal and civil rights.

Since 1848 the civil and legal rights of women have been so fully recognized that in the movement for woman suffrage we forget that the procession has passed and woman does not need the ballot as a means of justice.

There is no need to call to the attention of this committee the various rights and exemptions which woman enjoys to-day before the law. We were told last February in an edition of a New York daily that a certain woman would march up Pennsylvania Avenue in the parade of March 3 with hands shackled to show the condition

of the unenfranchised woman of this country. Curiously enough the same paper which gave us that information told us that a measure had been introduced in the Assembly of New York providing for a constitutional amendment which should forbid any distinction before the law on account of sex and should make inoperative on its passage all such existing laws.

Which is the true picture of the condition of unenfranchised woman in this country—the woman who chooses to have her hands tied with rope and represent the state of the unenfranchised woman in this country, or the splendid recognition of woman's service to the State, which she alone can perform, and because of which a great State like New York gives her special rights and exemptions in order that the motherhood of the race may be protected and that our citizens shall have the birthright and the inheritance of a strong and vigorous childhood? [Applause.]

I have met a few suffragists who say that this is all wrong and we should have equal rights, responsibilities, and duties for all, and special privileges to none.

Mr. Henry B. Blackwell said repeatedly before the Massachusetts Legislature that he believed women should have equal rights, responsibilities, and duties; and on one occasion he said, "And the wife should be equally responsible with the husband for the financial maintenance of the household." [Applause.]

They said back there in 1848, "Man has denied woman the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her."

It is a curious thing that there are to-day more institutions which grant degrees to women in this country than there are institutions which grant degrees to men—largely because of the fact that the men's colleges grant degrees from their graduate departments to women, while I know of but one woman's college which has granted even an honorary degree to a man, and that was within the last four months.

A great many things in life are coincident which are not consequent one upon another as cause and effect.

Whatever part the agitation for woman suffrage has played in the opening of educational opportunities to women—and the work of the suffrage party has been for coeducation rather than for higher education—we must admit that the results have come, not by the use of the woman's vote, by which alone the early suffragists said they could accomplish these desirable results, but without the use of the ballot.

The foundation of Vassar, of Wellesley, of Smith, of Mount Holyoke, was in no way connected with the suffrage movement. The splendid pioneer work of Mary Lyon and Emily Willard and Catherine Beecher in showing what women could do found its logical result in the opening of the splendid colleges for women. If there were opportunity it would be worth while to consider the story of the opening of Harvard University examinations for women, and the opening of the graduate departments of Yale University to women. In both instances, by a curious coincidence, by a curious combination of circumstances, the men and women who worked for the opening of these educational opportunities for women in these

two old, conservative universities have been antisuffragists, not a suffragist in the lot. [Applause.]

The same is true in England. Mrs. Snowden told us here in her wonderfully brilliant addresses on woman suffrage, that the time had come in England where if a man said he was opposed to woman suffrage he argued "either that he was not very intelligent or not very good." But Mrs. Snowden knew at that time that the president of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was Earl Cromer, the maker of modern Egypt, and that the vice president was Earl Curzon, of Kedleston, former viceroy of India now the president of the league in England; Lord Curzon as regent of the great University of Oxford, has been foremost in urging that old conservative university to grant its degrees to women.

The connection between the agitation for woman suffrage and the higher education of woman is not apparent to those who read the history of the movement.

They said back there in 1848 that man had "monopolized nearly all the profitable employments." By the census returns of 1900 we are told that women are actually engaged in 295 out of the 303 occupations in which men are engaged. Women, it is true, are not soldiers, sailors, or marines; neither are they street-car drivers; neither are they foremen in fire departments, nor are they apprentices to roofers and slaters, nor are they helpers to steam boiler makers or brass workers; but they are actually engaged in every other of the 303 occupations in which men are engaged, and still they do not have a vote in the great majority of the States of the Union. This is a great change from the days when women were engaged only in such occupations as household service, spinning and weaving, teaching dame schools, setting type, and keeping taverns. Everyone welcomes the opportunity of woman to earn her livelihood, but we are just beginning to realize that the State can not afford to drive its women into industry if thereby the State must lose woman's distinctive contribution as a citizen. After two generations of more or less thoughtless exploitation of women as wage earners, we are beginning to see that the woman goes into industry to meet all the hardships, all the problems of the workingman, plus the handicap of her sex, of her lower physical and nervous vitality. And, therefore, if woman is to be in industry, we must protect her especially, because we must protect the potential motherhood of the race. [Applause.]

We are only beginning to find the truth of this, and we are beginning to see by our reports on the conditions of such a city as Fall River, in my State, the report of the vice committee in Chicago, by the reports of the minimum wage commission in Massachusetts, that the girl and woman in industry can not go in as an equal with man in industry, but that she must be there with special safeguards, because she is the mother of the future citizen.

I know it is a favorite argument of the suffragist to say that because of this fact, because of the entrance of woman into industry, we must give the industrial woman the ballot in order to protect herself. Protect herself against whom? we may ask. It is an extraordinary thing that the study of the body of remedial and protective legislation for working women shows that these against whom the working woman must be "protected"—these men—have

enacted laws more favorable to women in industry, more carefully safeguarding the child in industry in male-suffrage States than have been enacted in States where women vote. [Applause.]

This is not a charge against the working of woman suffrage, but it is a fair contention that where the industrial conditions have so developed as to show the waste to the State of employing women as men are employed we have the body of legislation best safeguarding the woman and the child.

To explain: Women do not vote in Massachusetts; women do not vote in Nebraska; women do not vote in Indiana; and yet in those three male-suffrage States, and only in those three male-suffrage States, have we a prohibition of night work for women in manufacturing and mechanical establishments, and a prohibition of night work for women is considered the foundation principle of the best standard law you can have for women in industry.

One day's rest in seven is not provided for in these suffrage States under laws made under an electorate of women. You have a provision for one day's rest in seven in California. The eight-hour law was passed there nine months before the women voted, but it is always claimed as a suffrage victory; I do not know just why. But the law there does provide for one day's rest in seven. It does not prohibit night work; neither does it apply to women who are at work in the canneries, and canning is one of the great industries in California.

Massachusetts has a 54-hour law for women. It has a minimum wage commission, the first in this country. It has a maternity act, the first in this country, and that maternity act was adopted by New York, a male suffrage State, last year. The minimum wage and the maternity acts were copied, not from woman suffrage States, for women have voted in four States in our Union at periods varying from 20 to 44 years, but those laws were copied from continental Europe, which had found that it was poor economy to recklessly use the womanhood of the State in industrial lines, because of the inevitable results to the race.

As to child-labor laws: The national child labor committee has done more to have legislation for the protection of the child in industry spread upon the statute books than all the votes of men and women together, and women and men have worked together in getting before the people the conditions which should arouse public sentiment, so that it should insist upon legislation which shall protect the child.

The best child-labor law, in 1912, Dr. McKelway tells us—and I believe he is a suffragist—was in Massachusetts. I hope that some other State will this year outstrip the law of Massachusetts, so we shall again be put on our mettle and recognize the inexcusable waste which comes with the entrance of children into industry. It is particularly to the credit of Massachusetts that she has a good child-labor law, because with her great textile industries she has a temptation to exploit the work of women and children; but on suffrage authority we are told that not in some suffrage State but in a male suffrage State we have the best child-labor law. Again I say that it is not because the woman suffrage has failed to bring this legislation about, but because under male suffrage the law is enacted when public opinion stirs the public conscience.

Another thing which they said back there in 1848 was that taxation without representation was tyranny. It is a familiar saying, and we have seen it on banners carried in political parades, and it has been overworked on political platforms. But when James Otis gave utterance to those words in the old statehouse he was speaking about taxation of a colony that had no voice in a government overseas. He was not dreaming of universal manhood suffrage, let alone woman suffrage, and the tying up of the tax and the vote is a return to our old system when we had a property qualification; the vote and the tax have gone further and further apart since colonial days; there is but one State in the Union, the smallest State in the Union, which still has a property qualification required of the voter.

The tax is the price which the resident and the nonresident, which the man and the woman, which the alien and the citizen, which the individual and the corporation pay for the maintenance of roads, for the maintenance of schools, for the protection of property, and for those various other enterprises which make life safe and which make the forward march of civilization and a clean life possible in any community. The citizens of the District of Columbia are taxed, but they have no vote.

While suffragists demand the ballot to cleanse society of the social evil, vice commissions in several States report the lack of proper home training as a chief cause of the downfall of our girls and our boys. If the ballot in woman's hands is to suppress this ancient evil, why does this dread thing flourish in States where women have voted from 20 to 44 years? Although these States do not possess the densely populated communities which offer the most perplexing problems of the evil, the votes of women have not shown, even in these sparsely populated areas, a way to reinforce the faltering weakness of human nature. These evils must be corrected along educational lines rather than by political propaganda. The Federal law, dealing with the white-slave traffic, known as the Mann law, was placed on the statute books June, 1910. Up to January, 1913, the Government had obtained 337 convictions, while there had been but 35 acquittals. Other laws must and will follow as the knowledge of the extent of the evil awakens the public conscience and the moral sense of the people is aroused.

There is a danger that women's political activities may hinder this work of education. This danger is revealed in the testimony of Dr. Helen L. Sumner in her book Equal Suffrage—The Results of an Investigation in Colorado Made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State, on page 84 of which we read:

> Prostitutes generally vote, and their vote is cast solidly for the party in control of the police force. * * * The vote of these women, to whom police protection is essential, is regarded as one of the perquisites of the party in power. * * * Whenever "repeating" is to be done their aid, naturally, is required. * * *

And again, on page 93, this trained investigator reports:

> * * * The red-light district is freely used by the party in power, and its women are compelled, not merely to vote, but often to repeat.

If, as a measure of justice, to protect woman—and we might ask again, Protect her against whom?—woman does not need to vote,

ought woman to ask to vote in order to promote the general welfare? Now, in spite of the fact that here in Washington you were told the other day that all antisuffragists were hypocritical liars, in spite of the fact that we are quite accustomed to the kind of attack which you men find in politics, plus the venom of a scorned woman, in spite of all these things, suffragists and antisuffragists are about the same. The only difference is that the suffragist says, "It is through the vote you are going to moralize and reform society, and therefore give women the vote"; and the antisuffragist says that the vote is the least part of good government, and that matters of education, matters of forming and training a scientific public opinion are in the hands of women to an unusual degree, and that we need not an increased electorate, not a duplication by woman of man's methods, but what we need to-day is to be specialists in our line and not to be afraid of being specialists as women and working along the lines wherein I believe women have been somewhat successful in the last 19 centuries.

If men are doing so poorly that women must come in in order to help them out, what shall we say of the women who have trained men? [Applause.] If any mother feels that on election day she is handicapped when her son goes to the polls because she can not direct his vote, it is because she forgot to do what John Boyle O'Reilly used to tell us to do—"Catch him while he is young, because," he said, "you can do what you will with us men if you catch us while we are young."

If men are doing poorly—and I do not believe they are doing poorly when we realize the scale of the experiment of manhood suffrage which is being worked out here for the first time in the history of the world—but if men are doing poorly, is it not because the underlying principles of integrity and honor and righteousness have not been sufficiently insisted upon by the motherhood and by the educational force of this country? Eleven-twelfths of the teachers of secondary schools in my State are women. So it is no excuse for a woman to say, "I have not a boy to train." Will the daughters we have trained accomplish by the vote what the sons we have trained fail to accomplish?

Fortunately the average woman is worthily employed in very old-fashioned concerns. She has responsibility; she has opportunity, all she can use, and political responsibility and political opportunity offer no solution to her problems. The antisuffragist's objection to voting is not an objection to thinking, but we do believe that we are in a time when the specialized contribution of woman should be distinct and apart from the specialized contribution of man.

I have not forgotten, gentlemen, that I am addressing a committee a third of whom come from States where women form a part of the electorate. Even if you could prove that conditions in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming, or even in California and Washington, were bettered by the woman's vote, this would form no criterion for the whole of the country. [Applause.]

The great test of our democracy, of our form of government, comes in the cities, in the densely populated areas, and it is worth while to consider some of these conditions. The population of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California is, in round numbers, 5,160,000, according to the census of 1910. This is nearly

4,000,000 less than the population of the single State of New York. It is 500,000 less than the population of the State of Illinois, and it is 2,500,000 less than the great industrial and mining State of Pennsylvania.

The population of the State of Colorado is equal to the population of the city of Boston plus the population of the city of Fall River, where we have a peculiar situation because of the alien population. The population of the whole State of Wyoming is about equal to that of the city of Worcester, Mass., and it is only twice the population of the city of Manchester, N. H. The population of Utah is not equal to the population of the District of Columbia, and the total population of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado is only 9,600 more than that of the Borough of Brooklyn.

There are some peculiar problems which the East and the Middle West have to meet with their density of population, with the presence of the alien vote, as there are problems which the South has to meet with its race question.

If the experiment of woman suffrage has worked ever so well in Colorado and Utah and Wyoming and Idaho, even in those States where women have voted only one or two years, as in Washington and California, yet we must ask that they try the experiment a little longer before we try it under conditions where a patriotic woman or man must hesitate before bringing in an increased electorate and double the difficulty of getting a question clearly before the voters. [Applause.]

A great menace—I might almost be warranted in saying the greatest menace we have to-day—is not the ignorant voter, so called, or the uninformed voter; it is the indifferent voter. If by admitting women to the electorate we are to increase the number of the indifferent voters, surely we must hesitate before we undertake this reform, which Mr. Gladstone called a "revolutionary" one. You will remember that Mr. Gladstone and America's good friend John Bright and Herbert Spencer had all been in favor of woman suffrage, but they reversed their opinion and came out strongly against the parliamentary franchise for women.

What do we find in the States of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and California in the last presidential election? I will not read these figures. I will simply refer to them and ask that they be incorporated in my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do just as you please about that.

Mrs. GEORGE. These figures are taken from authoritative sources; where there has been a report available from the secretary of state, that has been used; where census reports have been available, they have been used; and in the other instances the best available authority has been used. Of course those are subject to the limitations of human fallibility.

The total vote cast in the six woman suffrage States for the Presidency—that is, where you have an electorate of men and women—in 1912 was 1,521,590. The relation of this vote to the actual number which might have voted, 3,200,152 men and women (exclusive of Japanese and Chinese), was 47.5 per cent.

Take neighboring or adjacent States, six of them, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon (a male-suffrage State at that time), Nevada, South

Dakota, and Missouri, and you find a total vote cast of 1,587,984, out of a total male population, 21 years of age and over, leaving out in these cases Japanese and Chinese, of 2,295,119; which makes a percentage in the male-suffrage States of a possible vote cast of 69 per cent, as against a percentage in the woman's suffrage States of 47½ per cent.

If 69 per cent of the men voted in the woman-suffrage States, as they did in the nonwoman-suffrage States (we do not say that they did, probably they did not), but if the same percentage of men voted in the suffrage States as voted in the nonsuffrage States an analysis of the figures shows that only 17.8 per cent of the women voters in the suffrage States actually voted.

Here are the striking facts: In the six woman-suffrage States only 47½ per cent of the total possible vote was cast. In the six nonsuffrage States near the suffrage States—a fair comparison, I submit—69 per cent of the total possible vote was cast, showing that woman suffrage, according to these statistics, secured from the secretaries of state of the various States and from the most accurate published figures available, tends to decrease the actual voting strength, rather than to increase healthy interest in politics.

Figures showing the surprising weakness of the total vote of both males and females in the six suffrage States in the last presidential election, and the contrasting high percentage of the total vote in six adjoining nonsuffrage States.

WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.

California (population 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese):	
Males	890,794
Females	655,450
Total possible vote	1,556,244
Actual vote for Presidency	673,527
Colorado:	
Males	269,211
Females	213,340
Total possible vote	482,551
Actual vote	266,871
Wyoming:	
Males	61,519
Females	28,426
Total possible vote	89,945
Actual vote	42,296
Washington:	
Males	428,825
Females	276,429
Total possible vote	705,254
Actual vote	322,799
Idaho:	
Males	108,847
Females	69,761
Total possible vote	178,608
Actual vote for Presidency	104,203

Utah:	
Males	101,902
Females	85,648
Total possible vote	187,550
Actual vote for Presidency	111,894
Total population of men and women 21 years or more of age, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese, in six suffrage States, and therefore the approximate total possible vote in those six States	3,200,152
Total vote actually cast in those six States for the Presidency in 1912	1,521,590
The per cent which voted	47½

NONWOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.

Kansas:	
Males 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese	508,425
Votes cast	365,442
Nebraska:	
Male votes possible	352,995
Votes cast	249,871
Oregon:	
Male votes possible	244,719
Votes cast	137,040
Nevada:	
Male votes possible	38,443
Votes cast	20,744
South Dakota:	
Male votes possible	178,054
Votes cast	116,325
Missouri:	
Male votes possible	972,483
Votes cast	698,562
Total men 21 years or over in six nonsuffrage States	2,295,119
Total vote in the six nonsuffrage States for President	1,587,984
Percentage of possible vote cast in six nonsuffrage States	69

If this is so, then the woman's vote will add another problem to the problems which already confront the man who is in politics, to the man who knows that the danger to-day lies in the indifferent and stay-at-home voter, and not so much in that vote which can be brought out, no matter what the weather conditions may be. We have "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" enough under present conditions.

A position of a remonstrant is a very difficult one under any conditions. It is particularly difficult when a woman opposes what other women most sincerely want. It is particularly difficult when one speaks in regard to conditions in States where woman suffrage obtains. But it is fair to ask that those States which to-day have adopted woman suffrage should wait to work out the problem before the other States assume the burden which would come with this change.

If you are only to double the outlay in election expenses, if you are only to double the number of voters, if you are only to double the time and money and energy which must go into political organization and into political work, is it not unsound and uneconomic to have two people do what one person can do? Unless your average woman voter is going to be a better voter, a more intelligent voter, a more safe voter, a more trained voter—shall I say a less emotional voter—than the average man, the extension of suffrage to women will not bring about a condition which will warrant the turning off of

woman's activities from channels in which women are already worthily employed into political activities. [Applause.]

There is reason that we should consider the situation which would arise in a community where those who made the laws had ceased to be those who could enforce the laws. Woman suffrage has never yet been brought to the test of a national crisis, when political feeling is at the greatest tension, yet only under such conditions could its value as a practice of government be fully tested. To-day in California we have a hint of woman's responsibility in a possible international complication when we have a legislature elected by the votes of women and men enacting legislation in regard to the holding of land by aliens, which has grave possibilities for the other States of the Union.

Thomas Jefferson said that a democracy ceased to be such when those who made the laws ceased to be those who could enforce the laws.

There are three portents of the times which are looming large in this suffrage movement. We have a great many middle-of-the-road suffragists who say, "Oh, let the women vote if they want to"; and those others who say, "I want to vote, and if I want to vote I should be allowed to vote, although I am the only woman in the United States who votes," as Mrs. Catt has said. But there are three portents in relation to woman suffrage, and I am no alarmist if I cite them. One is the very evident alliance with the socialistic propaganda. Those who have the intellectual honesty to follow the suffrage premises to their logical conclusion are more often than not socialists. I do not mean by this the "brotherhood of man," in which we all believe, but I mean that Socialist Party which cast its vote for Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States at the election of November 5, 1912. If you doubt this, if it seems the word of an alarmist, I would call attention to the fact that in the parade which moved down Pennsylvania Avenue on March 3 the socialistic contingent carried this banner, which is shown on this photograph, which I would like to have incorporated in the record.

(The photograph referred to shows a portion of the suffrage parade on Pennsylvania Avenue, with the following banner being carried by some of the marchers: "One million Socialists work and vote for woman suffrage.")

[Applause.]

We evidently have some Socialist sympathizers here, and they have the intellectual honesty to follow their premises to their logical conclusion and to agree with certain officers of the National Suffrage Association that the era of the home as the unit of society has passed and we are coming to a "splendid" era when the individual shall be the unit of society.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper said over her signature:

> Woman has not attempted one advance step which has not been blocked by these two words, "wifehood" and "motherhood."

Mrs. Catt, then president of the National Suffrage Association, said in Collier's Weekly in 1901:

> Women will sink out of existence in the body politic and will rise again as citizens.
>
> "If a women possesses ability, great or small, talent, genius, noble purpose, lofty ideals," Mrs. Catt continues, "shall she contribute these directly to the

welfare of the world or through the doubtful channels of influence on husband and children?"

If the influence on husband and children is a doubtful one to any woman, the ballot box is not going to give her certainty. [Applause.]

A suffrage speaker in Boston recently said:

Woman, waiting on her husband and children, forbids the economic independence, which is the basis of sex morality, and so retards her own development.

[Applause.]

Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, the president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, says:

I would make motherhood a governmental institution.

[Laughter and applause.]

She is consistent.

I would pension all mothers and have them provided for first to last by the State. I believe that motherhood should be independent of man.

[Continued laughter.]

I do not find it amusing. There are a few women who may make these extraordinary statements, but the menace lies in the fact that there are thousands of women in this country of ours who follow these leaders and who come here and ask for woman suffrage and then devise these schemes in order to make the woman's vote operative.

It is not necessary for some one to stand up and say, "I come from Colorado" or "I come from California, and the home there is not neglected and the babies are not neglected." If a woman's vote is going to be worth anything it is going to fall differently from the vote of the man of the same class, or else it simply doubles the return on election day.

Those who look to woman suffrage for the so-called emancipation of the sex are forced to devise these schemes by which the State shall care for the children. But it is a curious thing that at the very moment when experts have found that the child is better off in a poor home than in a good institution these women come along and say: "Let us have these institutions." At the very moment when these advanced suffragists say, "We will take the child from the amateur mother, who is the real mother, and give her to the expert mother," we are told by the highest authority on infantile diseases that the breast-fed baby has ten times the chance to survive that the bottle-fed baby has. That is not interesting, perhaps; you may say it has nothing to do with the woman-suffrage propaganda. It has, because when the president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association makes utterances such as this she is devising a scheme by which woman shall be able "to sink," as Mrs. Catt tells us, "sink out of existence in the body politic and rise again as citizens."

The secretary of the National Suffrage Association says progressive people are agreed that the wife should be economically independent, and so she devises a five-hour shift by which the mother shall be in the home five hours and shall be gainfully employed five hours, and the father shall go back into the home for five hours and care for the children, and then he shall be gainfully employed five hours. [Laughter.]

Those things are not amusing; they are alarming as a menace that carries out the tenet of socialism, that we are to have a kind of economic independence, which has very well been called by no less authority than Col. Roosevelt "a glorified State free-lunch counter and State foundling asylum."

The other menace, the second menace, the second portent, is the menace of feminism bound up with the menace of socialism. We find that the brilliant young woman who led the suffrage parade down Pennsylvania Avenue writes as follows:

This pressure toward a constantly growing freedom and power on the part of the sex means that in the long run the institutions most certain to be changed are the institutions in which the sex as a sex is most peculiarly and vitally interested, and these institutions, it is hardly necessary to point out, are the home and marriage itself.

A writer who is indorsed by the suffragists and dedicates her book to Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters, an American woman, says:

Two words were burned upon my brain—

She had been to a suffrage lecture—

laws made by men for women that must be unmade by women for women.

She says:

We must stop talking and act—fight.

She says:

Throw stones; do anything; it does not matter what, so long as we get the vote and can legislate in our own protection and the protection of the children.

But you may say that is an isolated illustration not fair to use. When the National Suffrage Association cabled, less than two weeks ago, to Mr. Asquith asking him to put an end to the intolerable conditions in England and to introduce a franchise bill into the present Parliament, they practically indorsed Mrs. Pankhurst, as they had given already a vote of sympathy to Mrs. Pankhurst.

An officer of a New York suffrage association has written this week in an open letter to the New York Times—and, lest you think I speak in parables, it is Mrs. John Brennan, a daughter of Charles A. Dana:

It is quite possible that if the Eastern States continue to deny enfranchisement to the women while the Western States continue to grant it the women thus discriminated against would find the political anomaly of their position so impossible to bear that even militancy would seem to them justifiable.

Miss Milholland, in speaking with me at Philadelphia, said:

Acid throwing and bomb throwing have their places under certain conditions.

We who oppose the extension of suffrage to women ask that not too great weight be attached to the argument of rights which suffragists put forward, who at the same time do not observe the rights of property belonging to noncombatants, who indorse the lawlessness of women over-seas, who by their lawlessness seek to show a more excellent way in government.

The third menace, then, is militancy. The indorsement of militancy by leading suffragists, the indorsement of militancy by the National Suffrage Association—that is, militancy on the part of the English women—is significant of the temper of those women who say the end justifies the means.

The only flag displayed over the entrance to the congressional headquarters of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association here on F Street is the purple, green, and white emblem of the Women's Social and Political Union of England, of which Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst is president.

There was a great woman in England who did work second to none in the housing of the poor and the care of the children, the establishment of playgrounds, and so on. Her name was Octavia Hill. At the end of a long life she said:

> I had hoped to be kept out of this suffrage contention, but I feel that after all these years I must say that it is important that one-half of the workers should be outside of party politics. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be.

That is where we antisuffragists contend that women can do their work best. The average woman is worthily employed already. To give her political responsibilities will not help out the situation unless she does something far more important than merely casting a ballot on election day. She has got to be a more informed voter than the average man of to-day if her vote is to be effective.

In passing, let me ask our suffrage friends to compare like with like. A favorite cartoon of the suffragists depicts a woman scrubbing, and a drunken man sitting at the table with his head bowed over, and the legend beneath the picture reads: "He can vote, she can not." Society is not made up of scrubbing wives and drunken husbands. Unfortunately both types exist, but, in all fairness, let us compare like with like, and until we are sure we are going to get a better state with the woman's vote than without it, we should hesitate before we hinder the best service women can do by putting them into political activities.

The ballot is the least part of good government, and those who advocate this instant doubling of the present electorate are behind the times. They emphasize the ballot as "the greatest of all modern reforms," and even urge that those who are to-day contributing to other reforms should withdraw or curtail their contributions to other causes until the ballot for woman is secured. (See appeal of M. Carey Thomas, February, 1913, for funds for National American Woman's Suffrage Association.)

If I may be permitted to say it here, the lady from Massachusetts, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, exemplified in an extraordinary way what women can do without the ballot. She is chairman of the department of public health of the Women's Municipal League and she is also chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association, an association which has done more for the cause of a pure milk supply in the State of Massachusetts than the votes of men or of men and women could possibly bring about.

These women in this country of ours are doing an increasing amount of public work, but it is no sophistry to ask you to distinguish between a few women in public work, well equipped, full of knowledge to match their zeal, and all women in political life. Where you find a woman doing a distinctive work, where you find that it is constructive, you will find that it gains its quality and it gains its distinction because the woman is working not as a Republican or a Democrat or a Socialist or a Progressive, but she is working as

a woman who is informed, who is ready to direct public opinion, and who has no personal political motive to serve. [Applause.] She works as a disinterested, nonpartisan factor for the public good, and there is no reason that she should take the retrogressive step which should make her work identical with man's. It is not a question of right, it is not a question of woman's inferiority or her superiority; it is a question of what is expedient for the State, and the antisuffragists believe that it is expedient for the State that the motherhood of the State should not be drafted off into political channels. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. Mr. Chairman, have you any questions to ask?

The CHAIRMAN. I have none.

Mrs. DODGE. If there are no questions to be asked, I would like you to hear from Mrs. Frances M. Scott, who is our first vice president.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear from her.

REMARKS OF MRS. FRANCES F. SCOTT, VICE PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mrs. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, having had so little expectation of being called upon, I will only say a very few words; and they will be mostly of a historical nature in reference to the movement in New York, which began immediately after our last constitutional convention, and when we flattered ourselves, we antisuffragists, having defeated the amendment of the constitution, that our work was done for 20 years. But we found when the legislature met the next year that our work, on the contrary, had only just begun. From that time on until this year we have steadily and successfully opposed the passage of the amendment in the New York State Legislature striking out the word "male" from the appropriate section in the constitution.

This year, our work having been so successful through the State, the sentiment of the women of New York having grown so steadily in opposition to woman suffrage, we not only agree but have assisted in the formation of the platform of both parties, agreeing that this question should be put before the people of New York at the earliest possible opportunity.

As has been called to your attention, this really is a matter of home housekeeping for the States to decide for themselves. We will probably come to an issue in 1915. We ask the gentlemen of this committee to leave the States alone on this matter. [Applause.]

It is a matter which concerns different States so differently, so far as politics are concerned, that on the political issue we feel justified in asking that. New York, of course, has a particularly difficult problem. Hundreds of thousands of people who come to our shores, the best often to drift on to the West, the hardest and most difficult part remaining in our big city to be dealt with, not as well as we might, perhaps as well as we can at present, makes it a matter on the political side for our own voters to decide upon.

Fundamentally the question of cost is a very much bigger one. Public life is a new occupation for women. There is a small percentage of women who can be justly and properly so employed, women who, by intellectual fitness, by freedom from certain obliga-

tions and cares, can properly and justly give their time to public service. They are doing it to an increasing degree.

But do not forget, gentlemen, that while fatherhood, potentially or practically, never interferes with public work, motherhood, practically and potentially, very frequently does, and motherhood always should. [Applause.] When in Finland a woman sitting in their Douma asked for a leave of absence for three weeks, in order that she might retire and become a mother and come back, it was said, "We can say now that motherhood does not interfere, because that woman was absent only three weeks."

My strong conviction is that the duties of motherhood begin and continue for, we will say, at least 21 years after her baby is born. [Applause.] Those are the formative years. The women who are not mothers, and they are a small minority in our country, are free to do the other work if they are called upon to do so, and if they are fit. But you men who have the vote should not legislate for a class of women. [Applause.]

We are asking you to remember that women as a whole are not a class. They are a sex and they have their duties and their responsibilities, and as a sex we object to having put upon us cares, responsibilities, requirements, which a small class among us is clamoring for. [Applause.]

So, gentlemen, will you please let the States manage this little business themselves? [Applause.]

Mrs. DODGE. Mr. Chairman, I think that is all the speakers we have who wish to be heard, and it is now 12 o'clock. We have no one else to introduce, and we thank you for the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. You still have five minutes remaining, if you desire to occupy it.

Mrs. DODGE. No; we have presented all the speakers that we have from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. We thank you for your courtesy and also for the courtesy—at least the comparative courtesy—of most of the suffragists present.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Hale, of Tennessee, has requested to be heard.

Mrs. DODGE. I understand that our hearing is closed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I understood you to say so just now.

Mrs. DODGE. And may we ask leave to go?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; if you desire to go we have no means of controlling you. I should, perhaps, say that Mrs. Hale speaks of her own volition.

Mrs. ANNIE RILEY HALE. I speak from the viewpoint of a liberal antisuffragist. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, a statement frequently reiterated by the suffragists in these congressional hearings is that they have been standing before Congress with their petitions and hearings for the past 30 years. Such being the case, Congress should be pretty well acquainted with the suffragist position by this time. To add anything to the suffrage oratorical output seems to me in the nature of those superfluous occupations enumerated by Shakespeare, such as gilding refined gold, painting the lily, and lending a perfume to the violet.

More recently representatives of the woman's organization opposed to woman suffrage have also beset Congress with counterarguments

and protests, and you have this morning listened to some of the ablest exponents of the opposition side to this votes-for-women controversy.

I believe it was the great French minister, Talleyrand, who said, "Everybody knows more than anybody," and in order to round out this feminist discussion, in order that every shade of intelligent womanly opinion may be reflected in these hearings, I have asked permission to present the viewpoint of a class which finds itself not wholly in sympathy with either extreme faction of the woman question. In the judgment of the extremists, we may be "neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring," but we are nevertheless American women and entitled to be heard on any movement like the proposed amendment before this committee, which, if enacted into law, would so vitally affect the lives and fortunes of all women. Speaking for these, therefore, and for myself, I may say I have found intellectual and spiritual fellowship with some of the suffrage women and with some of the so-called "antis," and I have found things to repel me in both.

We deplore the factional spirit which is arraying many good women against each other in bitter hostility and which furnishes one of the best proofs to a dispassionate observer of the unwisdom of woman's participation in practical politics. Both factions are emphasizing Mr. Dooley's pronouncement that "politics is a man's game," and his advice to "women and children and prohibitionists to stay out of it." If you have any doubts on this head you might get them set at rest by attending a session of the D. A. R. congress when the battle is raging around the selection of a president-general and the various other commanding generals who are found so necessary to the conduct of D. A. R. business. [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I challenge the initial declaration in the suffragette confession of faith, that "the suffrage is a natural right of which women are unjustly deprived." I deny that the suffrage is a natural right for anybody, man or woman, like the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It can not be an individual right at all, since it does not exist for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of the State. It is, in my view, a civic trust which should be committed to those only who are capable of exercising it for the good of the State and the public weal.

But you say this would exclude many men at present exercising the privileges of the electorate. So it would; and permit me to say that many men at present enjoying the privilege do not deserve it and ought to be excluded in the interests of good government. I freely indorse all that the woman suffragist says in condemnation of the unfit male voter, and if she were proposing to oust him and at the same time to limit the suffrage to the fit members of her own sex I might not oppose her, grave as are my misgivings about the wisdom of any considerable number of women entering the domain of practical politics. If they could devise some way to bestow it upon a few deserving old maids and childless married women it might be a very good thing, and I'm sure it would subserve a good end if it could be the instrument for disfranchising the unfit male elector. But as I understand this woman suffrage program, it is not proposing to do anything of the kind. It is proposing to leave the ignorant or venal male voter undisturbed, and to add to him in pernicious political activity his wife, his mother, his sisters, his cousins,

or his aunts. Upon the other hand, perceiving quite clearly as I do that it is the constant playing of the manifestly unfit male voter against the brainy, competent women who desires the ballot that is giving impetus and strength to the suffrage movement, I regard it as the weakness of most of the antisuffrage logic that it is content to expend all its forces against the woman suffrage defenses, and appears to accept without protest the unfit male voter, who could be knocked out with the same line of argument. Both parties to the contention tell us that it is not practicable to debar the unfit male elector who is already enfranchised. I do not concede this; I know that nothing is practicable until men resolve to do it, and I know that the cry of impracticability has been the excuse of all the indolent, laissez-faire economists and doctrinaires since time began.

What would be the standard of eligibility and who would apply it? The same power which now prescribes the qualifications for electors, and there is no reason to think that a standard of eligibility for voters could not be devised without taxing human ingenuity or straining human adaptability further than is already done where standards are set up in regard to many things about which men differ and into which a conflict of interests enters. If everyone were free to qualify under this standard of electoral fitness, so that the electorate could be constantly recruited from beneath, the essential principle of democracy would be preserved, since it is not the number of people taking part in an election, but the freedom of opportunity to all to take part, which is the essential characteristic of free government. Personally I think it is as untenable to say that every man of 21 years and upward has a right to have a voice in government as to say that every man without training or fitness should practice law or medicine. It is my conviction that the State should require every man who wishes to participate in an election to pass a fairly stiff examination upon the issues involved and the records of the candidates offering for election. If a man is too lazy or too indifferent to inform himself on these, he has no just grievance when the State declines to register the worthless opinion expressed by his ballot.

If you wish to tell me that this is an idle, Utopian dream of government, then I may retort by telling you that it is equally impractical and chimerical to attempt to curb or destroy the power of the corrupt political boss, who is the chief menace to free government today, so long as the ignorant or venal voter, who makes the "boss" possible, is left at large. But if it be true, as you say, that it is not possible to dislodge the unfit male voter under our system of government, then, Mr. Chairman, what am I to think of the logic or the patriotism of those who say that because the electorate is already burdened with a large element of masculine unfitness it shall carry an additional burden of feminine unfitness? I may be very stupid, but, really, my brain refuses to grasp the soundness of the theory that my having one foot in the mire constitutes a good reason for putting the other one in.

"Oh, but do you not believe the majority of women to be good women?" is the indignant cry of the suffrage chorus. Mr. Chairman, I believe the honest answer to this question to hold the crux of this whole feminist controversy, and because I propose to meet it

squarely and answer it fairly I have volunteered to speak to this committee.

Owing to the chivalric sentiment which has grown up in the world—and which all men either feel or affect—women have been protected and shielded even from themselves, until we are prone to forget that we are the authors of evil as well as of good. Our faults and weaknesses have been covered up with soft phrases and beautiful sentiments; our failures and misfortunes have been charged up to men or to "man-made laws," and, failing these, the Lord and the devil have been pressed into service to relieve woman from the unpleasant experience of facing her own personal responsibility. This chivalric attitude of men toward women is very beautiful from man's side of human relationship; but it has not conduced to develop the habit of honest introspection and intellectual clarity among women, even as flatterers and fawning courtiers are not the best environment for weak rulers and their subjects. And now that woman is proposing to steer the ship of state in addition to her time-honored occupation of "rocking the cradle," it seems appropriate to call her to a sense of accountability for the manner in which she has discharged the duties already committed to her hands.

If we are to do any clear thinking on this woman-suffrage proposition and reach any just conclusion in the matter, then I respectfully submit, Mr. Chairman, that you must lay aside the traditional gallantry and eulogy which mark the usual discussion of woman in the abstract; cease to speak or to think of women as "ministering angels," "star-eyed goddesses," or "remote princesses," and deal with them as social units, playing such a fundamental and ubiquitous part in the world that they can not escape their responsibility for "things as they are," whether they be good or whether they be evil. We must figure the debit and credit side of the womanly balance sheet not upon a beautiful theory or sentiment but in the plain facts of biology, psychology, and sociology. [Applause.]

[The time having expired, upon request of Senator Jones, Mrs. Hale, by unanimous consent, was given 10 minutes to conclude her remarks.]

I am glad to hear the suffragists scornfully repudiating woman's ancient privileges and standing squarely upon her "rights." I venture to remind them that one of her rights which has been denied her even more universally than the ballot is the right to hear the truth about herself; and since this is a disability which men still hesitate to remove, I have volunteered for the service. I am nerved to the thankless task of arraigning my own sex by the earnest conviction that we shall never get any improvement in women until we bring them to a realizing sense of personal responsibility; and because I believe woman to be such an important factor in the scheme of things—at the bottom of everything, so to speak—I regard reforming woman and reforming the world as synonymous terms.

When you ask if I believe the majority of women are not good, if you mean "good" according to the standard prescribed for them by men who will have none of it themselves, I answer yes, a very large majority are good in that sense; but chastity is not the only prime requisite for good government, neither in the State nor in the home.

Do you not know some good women who nag? Some who are scolds? Others who are mollusks? And others still who are submerged in self-pity whenever they are foiled in some small undertaking? And I wish to say that the naggers, the scolds, the mollusks, and the whiners will not be any more helpful to the State than they are in the home.

So when you ask if I believe the bulk of woman's influence to be for good in the world, I am forced to say no, if the world is as much "to the bad" as the woman suffragists report. For as I view the social economy, the existence of every unfaithful man in the home, in the church, or in the State, presupposes the existence of from one to five unfaithful women. Every man who breathes is born of a woman; is influenced by his mother even before his birth; is influenced in infancy, childhood, and youth by his mother, sister, teacher, sweetheart, and wife; and every man who is as black as the woman-suffrage fancy paints him is only a walking advertisement of the fact that some woman along the line has been false to her trust. For woman's is the guiding function ever; man is for action, woman for counsel; and there is no escape from the logical deduction that the foolishness of the world is the foolishness of women.

A man may acquire skill and knowledge, intellectual breadth and stature out in the world in contest with his fellows; but the man's moral fiber, such as it is, has been made for him by all the feminine forces which have played on him from infancy to mature manhood. A man's exterior may show some of the hardening effects of his battle with the world; and to this callous exterior we rightly apply the word "masculine"; but we err in supposing that the inside, where the man's spiritual self resides, is masculine. That is feminine, in that it very accurately reflects the sort of feminine influence which has been dominant in his life. The gods to which he sacrifices upon that inner, hidden shrine, be they high or low, have been placed there by women; the voice which speaks in every willing act of the man where conscience decides is the voice of a woman. [Applause.]

How, then, shall they say that "only half of the human family is represented in legislation"? Again and again we have heard from the lips of suffragists the story of masculine selfishness, indifference, and tyranny in the failure to secure proper laws especially for the protection of women and children. But whence came all these selfish and heartless legislators, careless about the welfare of the home, and deaf to the cry of humanity? Who gave them their moral and social ideals? Did they not all have mothers? Were they not all at one time plastic as clay to the potter in some woman's hands?

"The buckling on of the knight's armor by his lady's hand," says Ruskin, "was no idle figure; it was the type of an eternal truth. The soul's armor is never well set to a man unless a woman's hand has fastened it, and it is only when she buckles it loosely that the honor of manhood fails."

In this indictment of woman's "infidel hand" I include my own; with what measure I mete I am willing to be measured, and such responsibility as I put upon other women I accept for myself. I am not climbing up the steps of any judgment throne nor actuated by any uncharitableness. I seek merely to define woman's true place and influence in the world to the end we may see straight and think straight on this woman question.

If, then, woman has made a failure of her own particular business of bearing and rearing men—a task which both nature and society have given wholly into her hands and for which she has thousands of years of training—if she has failed in this as lamentably as the many unfit men in the world would seem to indicate, the absurdity of the proposal to commit to her hands the conduct of public affairs is patent. In a word, if we propose to reform the ballot with women, we must first reform the women; and in my view when we succeed in arousing women, especially mothers, to a realizing sense of their opportunities and their responsibilities, there will not be much left to reform. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. That concludes the hearing this morning. Those in favor of woman suffrage will be heard Monday morning, beginning at 10 o'clock a. m., and this committee will now stand adjourned to meet at that time.

(Thereupon, at 12.20 p. m., the committee adjourned until Monday, April 21, 1913, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1913.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
UNITED STATES SENATE.

The committee met pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Thomas (chairman), Ashurst, Ransdell, Hollis, Sutherland, Clapp, and Jones.

Also present: Mrs. C. W. MacNaughton, Mrs. Charles Morton, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Miles Poindexter, Mrs. Anson Mills, Miss N. L. White, Mrs. Clopton-Smith, Mrs. Anna Harmon, and other officers of the Federal Woman's Equality Association.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing this morning is under the auspices of the Federal Association for Woman Suffrage. Next Saturday a meeting of the committee will be held, on which occasion the National Association for Equal Suffrage will be heard for two hours, and at the end of that time, if the committee does not object, 20 minutes will be assigned to Dr. Walker. The hearing will now proceed if the committee having charge of the discussions is ready.

STATEMENT OF MRS. CHARLES MORTON, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S FEDERAL EQUALITY ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. MORTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the members of the Federal Equality Association, and I think suffragists in general, fully appreciate the privilege the committee has extended us in granting this hearing. The committee is the first suffrage committee, we think, in the Senate worthy of the name, and for that reason we consider this the most important hearing the question has ever been granted. The Federal Equality Association stands sponsor for this resolution, No. 1, for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, introduced in the Senate by Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, and in the House of Representatives by Representative Mondell, of Wyoming, and our committee have secured men

and women from equal-suffrage States, who will speak for this bill and answer the statements made by the antisuffragists before this committee on Saturday last.

The Senators and Representatives who have consented to speak do not do so because of any debt they owe the women of these States but because they choose to given expression to their honest convictions and their first-hand knowledge of the operation of the law granting the women in these States the ballot; and thereby placing the women of these States, and I think the men of the country at large, who are seeking the ballot, under still greater depth to them.

I ask the privilege of having read a message from Senator Warren to our corresponding secretary, Mrs. Colby.

(Mrs. Colby read the letter referred to, as follows:)

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1913.

MRS. CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

DEAR MRS. COLBY: I am in receipt of your kind invitation to attend the meeting to be held Monday morning before the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the Senate and to address the committee in behalf of the woman's suffrage cause.

I regret exceedingly that I am unable to accept the invitation, prior engagements preventing.

If you desire to do so, you may present my views of the actual workings of equal suffrage in my home State, Wyoming, which, briefly, are as follows:

The Territory of Wyoming was the first political division in the United States to accord equal rights in political affairs to women. Over 40 years ago the Territory granted the franchise to women and the right to vote and hold office was confirmed by the adoption of an equal-suffrage clause in its constitution by the people of Wyoming when the Territory became a State in 1890.

During the entire period of over 40 years in which the women of Wyoming have enjoyed equal suffrage they have contributed by their votes and influence in public affairs to the establishment and maintenance of desirable governmental conditions in the State and have supported earnestly and faithfully all movements for good government and for the benefit of the people of the State generally.

Equal suffrage in Wyoming, in my opinion, has tended toward the election of high-class public servants, and it is a matter of general observation in Wyoming that women will not vote for candidates lacking good character, even if of their own political faith and party.

As an example of the practical good effect and the absence of any ill effect of woman suffrage, Wyoming may be referred to with absolute confidence and safety.

Yours, very truly, F. E. WARREN.

Mrs. MORTON. I take great pleasure in introducing Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, who introduced the resolution in the Senate.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, ladies, and gentlemen, I really do not know what I can say or what I ought to say to the members of this committee that might facilitate the consideration and passage of the resolution which I introduced in the Senate for the purpose of amending the Constitution with reference to woman suffrage. It seems to me that there is no legal question involved in it. I do not think there is a particle of doubt that the Constitution can be so amended as to grant this privilege to the women of our land; nor have I any doubt as to the power of Congress to pass a bill, without any constitutional amendment, which would confer this power upon the women, although that question has been mooted.

I do not propose to discuss it from a constitutional standpoint or to say very much upon the matter; it is simply a question of advisability under all the circumstances as to whether or not women should be enfranchised.

Oregon has been at work upon this subject for a great many years. As a young man, in 1880, I was honored by being elected to the legislature of my State, when, for the first time, the legislature considered the propriety of submitting to the people of Oregon an amendment to the constitution enfranchising the women of the State. It was submitted to the people eventually and was defeated. Agitation from that time up to the present has been continuous, and it has been urgent and it has been earnest, with the result that after Oregon adopted the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution the good people of our State again submitted an initiative petition to the people for the enfranchisement of our women. It was again defeated by a small majority. But, persistent in their efforts to accomplish this desired end, and earnest in such efforts as they always have been and as they always will be until they have been granted the privilege which has been granted to the humblest citizens of the land, it was submitted again by an initiative petition and carried by an overwhelming majority, and Oregon last November placed herself in the roll of the States where women are enfranchised.

Not only was this movement started in 1880 for the purpose of enfranchising the women of the State, but there has been a steady movement toward liberating women, from the property standpoint, in Oregon. There was a time when a woman could not execute a deed that had any force or validity unless she was taken off in a room separate and apart from her husband and made to state that she executed the paper without fear or compulsion from him. That useless piece of common-law nonsense has been done away with years ago in Oregon, and even before women were enfranchised.

Again, there was discrimination against women in the laws of descent. While the husband in case of the death of the wife inherited a life estate in the wife's property, under our law the woman in case of the husband's death only secured a dower interest, which was one-third of the value of the use of the property during her life. That nonsense has been done away with, and it was nonsense, because if there is any reason in the world why a man should inherit the wife's property, there is all the more reason why the physically weaker member of the family, the wife, should inherit the property of the husband. So that nonsensical law has been done away with in Oregon.

Oregon has taken the lead, too, ladies and gentlemen and members of the committee, in adopting laws, through the influence and efforts principally of our women, imposing shorter hours for the labor of women, and of men too; and I believe our State was amongst the first to have tested its law that had for its purpose the amelioration of child labor conditions in the State, and the action of the State of Oregon was approved by the Supreme Court of the United States; and this action on the part of Oregon will be followed by other States in the Union in the very near future.

It was my good fortune to be attorney general of my State from 1891 to 1894, and I was the first to render an opinion that under the citizenship clause of our laws a woman had a right to be appointed

notary public in the State. Even this small privilege and right had been denied to her on the ground, I assume, that she was not a citizen of the State. But my action in that case was sustained by the courts of Oregon, and ever since that time the women have been appointed notaries public, and I have yet to learn of the first case where one has violated the trust which the law has imposed upon her. [Applause.]

Again, during my term as governor, between 1902 and 1908, the question came up as to whether a woman could be appointed as a member of the board of regents of the educational institutions of the State. We had coeducational institutions—our State university and agricultural college—and the State normal schools were all coeducational institutions, and I could not see any reason why, since our daughters, and in some instances our wives, were attending institutions of learning which were fostered and encouraged by the State, the women of the State could not serve as members of the board of regents for the purpose of lending their influence to the proper moral and educational training of our women. I was the first governor to appoint a woman as a member of the board of regents, and that woman reflected honor, and is still serving and reflecting honor, upon the position she holds as a member of the board of regents of the State Agricultural College of Oregon. [Applause.] She visits the institution and comes in intimate touch with the young girls there.

It is true we have not had any experience with women voting in Oregon under the general laws of the State, although ever since I have been a resident of the State women who are taxpayers have been permitted to vote at the school elections in the several districts of the several counties of the State. If they are capable of exercising the franchise in the matter of educating the children, if they are capable of intelligently exercising the franchise in the matter of imposing taxes upon themselves and their neighbors in the matter of school elections, I can not see why they are not capable of voting for the election of men who shall govern the affairs of the State and in the imposition of taxes which affect equally the interests of all of the people of the State, and I have no fear, so far as I am concerned, that any wrong will be perpetrated or accomplished because of the fact that the women of Oregon have been enfranchised.

In fact, I expect to see the conditions of my State bettered, if it is possible to better them; and as the State is recognized as a leader, or, as some are pleased to call it, the experimental legislative station in the United States, I expect her to still set an example for the East in matters of legislation for the benefit of the whole people of this country. [Applause.]

Why can not women intelligently exercise the elective franchise, Mr. Chairman? I ask you as a man who believes thoroughly in this doctrine of the enfranchisement of women. They attend the same schools that we do; they have greater opportunities to educate themselves than the men. When their household cares and duties are over they spend their time not only in reading but in educating the children of the land, those upon whom the burdens of government must in the final analysis rest.

As a matter of fact, in 9 out of 10 cases, the women of our land, the women on the farms, the women whose husbands work in the factories, devote more time to their mental development and the

education of themselves and their children than it is possible for the men to do. Under these conditions and circumstances, why can not woman exercise the elective franchise just as intelligently and just as forcefully and just as much for the public weal as it is possible for a man to do?

We do not expect any bad results in Oregon. We expect that the results will be beneficent and redound to the eternal benefit of the citizens of that State. [Applause.]

Another thing. I call attention to this—and it seems to me that this has been overlooked many times in the discussion of these things: In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, Mr. Chairman, wherever a great moral question is involved, while a man's prejudices and passions may influence him, the intuitive judgment of woman nearly always is exactly in accordance with the law of God and the best interest of His creatures. So that on all of these great moral questions—and there are many of them, such as the proper education of children, the child-labor law, the shortening of the hours of labor, the white-slave traffic, and others that I might mention which are now agitating the public—I had rather trust in every case to the intuition and to the intelligence of the woman than to the political prejudices and passions of the man; so that in these questions it seems to me woman ought to have a right to a voice and ought to be able to assist the men in the decisions of these great questions. [Applause.]

That is all I care to say, Mr. Chairman. I had hoped that if there was any doubt in the mind of this committee as to the propriety of enacting a law that would confer the franchise upon women, that they would remove all doubt by reporting favorably upon the resolution which I have introduced for the purpose of amending the Constitution of the United States.

If we have the power of conferring the elective franchise upon those who have come to us from other and distant shores and have resided in our country five years, who can not read and can not write in many instances, and know nothing about our Constitution or forms of government, if it is possible within the powers of Congress to confer the elective franchise upon the colored people of the United States by legislative enactment, certainly it is within the power of this same body to confer this great power and great privilege upon the intelligent womanhood of our land. [Applause.]

Mrs. MORTON. I will ask Senator Ashurst next to address the committee.

Senator ASHURST. Mr. Chairman, I had no previous notice that I was to address the committee. Mr. Chairman, I have been greatly honored by membership on the committee, and if deemed proper for a member of the committee to address a committee upon a subject before it for consideration and discussion, I have no desire to shirk the responsibility. Yet I do not know as to the proprieties of such a proceeding. In other words, I am sitting here listening to the arguments myself. Not that I need any; I presume my position on this question is so well known that it would be unnecessary for me to make a public statement as to my position. Yet it is somewhat anomalous. I have never heard of it before—for a member of a committee who is sitting and expects to render a judgment on a question pending to make an argument himself. I ask for the judgment of the chairman on this subject.

Mrs. COLBY. I asked Senator Ashurst on Saturday if he would speak. I did not know at that time that he was a member of the committee.

Senator ASHURST. I thought the lady meant to ask me to speak in the Senate when I had the opportunity.

Mrs. COLBY. I do not wish to put our association in the position of bringing you here, or at least calling you out without previous warning. I asked you if you would speak here to-day, and you probably did not understand.

Senator ASHURST. I therefore, Mr. Chairman, ask at this particular time that I be excused from making a statement, in view of the delicate position I occupy.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the request a perfectly proper one, and the Senator will be excused.

Mrs. MORTON. Senator Lane, of Oregon, will be the next speaker.

Senator LANE. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it would be a very brave man who could say anything in opposition to the subject pending this morning, in view of the fact that all these ladies are here. I wish to say to you in confirmation of some of the arguments which were advanced by Senator Chamberlain that I am in favor of woman suffrage. I have never been able to understand why anyone should be opposed to it. Senator Chamberlain is going to be a candidate for United States Senator a couple of years from now and the women in Oregon have votes, and it is very important for the Senator to put himself right on the subject. But I will say for him, in all seriousness, that he was in favor of it before the women were enfranchised. I always have been in favor of it. I never could understand why there should be any question about the right of a woman to vote.

I am a physician, and somewhat from that standpoint I will explain to you some of my views. Woman is born our full partner in life in every way, from our birth until the day we die. Woman tends man throughout the affairs of this world. I am hoping that she does in the next world. I believe there is a question about that, and that there was such a question in the mind of St. Paul. I think he was in error on that proposition. At any rate I hope so. But she, having been our full partner from the day we are born to the day we die, and we born of her, she the great creative power, a wonderful mystery of nature, which within herself from her blood and bone reproduces us, men and women alike, what right has any man to question her as to where she wants to go, in any position in life that he as a man cares to go? She helps us all through life. Why should she be denied the right of suffrage? I never could understand why it was not granted to her in the first place. [Applause.] Were it left to me she would not even have to ask for it. I would present it to her on a silver platter, and apologize to her for the delay in having it presented. [Applause.]

I was at one time mayor of the city of Portland—and the mayor's office, I believe, is the most trying position in public life. Prior to that time I had been the superintendent of an insane asylum, which was most excellent preparation for the job I held subsequently—and perhaps for the one I am now filling. But while I was mayor there came up questions concerning matters in reference to the government of the city in which its good name was involved, and the people were

desirous to secure reform along many lines. Now, I wish to say to you, to all men and women alike, fearlessly, that I owed what success I had in bringing about those reforms to the help, the very active help, and assistance of the women of the city of Portland. It did not come from the men. When I had to go up against the great liquor interests the women stood behind me and aided me and helped me. [Applause.]

We accomplished our results. You will note that nearly always when there is an attempt to defeat the right being granted to the women to vote you will find a line-up solidly against them nearly every time by the liquor interests of nearly every community. There are many good people who object to it; but at all times, for reasons which are well founded with them, they do oppose it and oppose it bitterly.

Now, those are the facts in relation to that matter. While I was mayor of Portland it became necessary that we appoint some one as a health officer. That position is open only to physicians. I selected a woman for the health officer of the city of Portland, and the city of Portland never before or since has had a more able health officer than was the lady physician I appointed.

There is no question about their ability. I appointed a woman as market inspector, and the markets of the city of Portland are about as well regulated—I think among the best—of any city of the Union. No more capable market inspector exists in the United States than Sarah Ann Evans, who is still market inspector of the city of Portland to-day. When she first went out with her work she received criticism on account of her sex and was rebuked by some, and it became unpleasant for her, and I decorated her with a policeman's star and swore her in as an officer and gave her a billy—which she luckily did not have to use—in order that she might educate men in the proper way of treating women with a due amount of respect. [Applause.]

If the Chinamen are allowed to vote, and on our coast the Chinamen do vote, why should not my wife or daughter vote? And, by the way, they are registered voters in the city of Portland; I have a picture of them in my office, and I should have brought it down here to-day. And if the negro can vote, why not the woman?

As I said before, I see no reason why anyone should question the right of women to vote. I do not understand any argument which can be brought against the proposition which is based on any fact which is worthy of consideration.

The interest of the woman in legislation of this country is equally as great, and in some particulars greater, than the interest of any man can possibly be. Even on matters of tariff, if you please, and matters of finance, and in a hundred other ways. If this country is well governed, and governed in the interests of the mass of the people, and equal opportunity afforded to all people to go on in this world and enjoy a life of happiness and prosperity, it leads directly down to the home. Who is more interested in the home than the mother of the people of the country? The men of the country? If we have unjust laws and unequal opportunity, your children and mine are going to suffer for it. Whose heart is appealed to more closely for the welfare of the future of its children than the mother's? The father's? Never; not on your life. He forgets his children;

a mother never forgets her child. The mother will go anywhere, will even go down into hell for her offspring. That is the great mother love of woman. And anything which affects her child's future, brought home to her, to her knowledge, and given in her hands the power to see that her child's future is placed upon a plane for its benefit, who can doubt that a mother would vote for good government in this country?

In Oregon we depend upon them. As mayor of the city of Portland I depended upon them, and in the campaign which I made last fall in a community where the majority was 50,000 against me I depended upon their help to send me here, telling them that if they did that I would do my full duty by them; and when this measure comes up I will vote for it. I believe in it. I believe you are entitled to it just as well as I am. Your right is as great and always has been. God go with you; I hope you get it. [Applause.]

Mrs. MORTON. Representative French, I think, is in the audience, and I will ask him to speak to the committee.

STATEMENT OF HON. BURTON L. FRENCH, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM IDAHO.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am reminded I will have but a few minutes to bear my testimony of the operation of woman suffrage in the State of Idaho, and I shall try to hit at the points that I think will be of most interest in connection with the subject.

In the first place, in the State of Idaho women have had the right of suffrage since the provision was carried amending the constitution in 1896. Before that time they had had the privilege of suffrage so far as school elections were concerned, and since that time they have had the privilege of suffrage at all elections.

The one question that seems to be asked by people first of all when they raise the question of suffrage in Idaho is this: Do the women of the State vote?

I think that Idaho is very fortunate with respect to her population. Most of her population is of a very high state of literacy, in the first place. In the second place, her population is almost entirely American born. A population of such character as that would naturally be expected to furnish a relatively large percentage of voters, and so I think that we do not deserve undue credit when we say that Idaho, as a few of the other States equally fortunately situated with respect to population, casts a very large percentage of vote with respect to the total voting population. I think possibly 80 or 85 per cent of the people of the State vote upon every election.

The ratio of votes then is interesting between men and women. We must make some allowance for the few women who do not believe in suffrage, for the women who come to the State from year to year, and consequently are not familiar with the habit of voting and for the first time or so that they have the opportunity do not avail themselves of the privilege. Also some allowance must be made for the same indifference that is manifest among men everywhere, that prompts a few of them not to avail themselves of the right of suffrage. Laying these aside, or taking them into consideration, if you please, I think that the relative vote of the women of the State as compared

with the vote of the men of the State is almost equal. In figures, I would say that from the best calculations I can obtain about 40 to 45 per cent of the vote cast by the people of the State is the vote of women, and about 55 to 60 per cent of the vote of the State is the vote cast by men.

From these figures it will be seen that the women very generally avail themselves of the privilege of suffrage, and the question, "Do the women vote?" must be answered in the affirmative.

Another question that is asked is, What effect does suffrage have upon the polls, upon conventions, and in general upon the various agencies that have to do with government or our expression of convictions along political lines?

I think we do not need to argue the question that the presence of women in all gatherings, aside from political gatherings, tends to make the gatherings more orderly, more dignified, and that there is a greater respect shown toward all concerned than in gatherings that are made up wholly of men and from which women are absolutely excluded.

Why would there be any different tendency in organizations. in conventions, in meetings that have to do with political questions? In my mind there is absolutely none, and the experience of the State proves that there is absolutely none.

In Idaho women participate in our conventions. They participate in our political meetings. They are members of our audiences. In some instances they constitute a very large percentage of the audience. They participate in the agencies through which the people give expression to their opinions, such as officers upon election boards, clerks of election, chairmen, secretaries, etc., of the different political organizations. The result is to bring about a very orderly state of affairs in all of these places. You go to the election polling place; you find order. You go to the convention; you find order. You go to the meetings that are held throughout the campaign season and you will find order, and you will find the interest that is manifested by the women is fully as keen and intense as the interest manifested by the men.

Speaking of the influence of women upon an election and how they look at the question, I am reminded of the experience of my wife when she first went to the State, very shortly before an election occurred. She was not eligible to vote, because she had been in the State but a few weeks. She came into her home and asked the lady with whom she was staying who was giving the party. The lady replied that she did not know of any party being given. "Is there a party?" she asked. "There must be," my wife said, "because the ladies are all going by in their carriages." Pretty soon the lady looked out and said, "Why, they are going to the election to vote."

I mention that merely as an illustration of how the polls are conducted and to suggest that it is merely in line with every other agency with which women have to do, and the fact that the end has to do with government makes the participation of women no different from her participation in any other functions or activities of life.

The next question that is asked very frequently is, Do the women hold office? I must say that the women in Idaho have been exceed-

ingly modest in the matter of office holding. I think from the standpoint of numbers less than 5 per cent of the offices of the State are held by women, and from the standpoint of remuneration no greater salaries than 5 per cent, in my opinion, are paid to women throughout the State as compared to the salaries paid to men. The State superintendent of public instruction from the time women have had the suffrage has been a woman. I think the candidates of all the important parties in the State for that office have been women. Most of the superintendents of schools throughout the State are women. A few of the county treasurers are women. In the cities and towns we have treasurers and clerks very frequently who are women. We have had a few members of the legislature, possibly not more than 5 or 6 during an experience of some 14 or 16 years, who have been women. Aside from this the women seem very content that men shall hold the offices. I mention that simply as a fact touching the ambition of women toward office holding, as I gather from an observation of woman suffrage in the State of Idaho during a period of nearly 16 years. The interest of the women has been essentially patriotic.

Another question that is frequently asked that is important is this: Does woman suffrage tend toward better government? That is a question that must be answered by the results of her participation in government. My judgment is that her participation does tend toward better government for several reasons:

In the first place, women are more independent in their thinking than men. It may be that men have been bound down to habit in following the dictates of this party or that party for so many years that they have let partisanship control them more than it controls the women. But whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that women are more independent in their thought along political lines than are the men. I think that that can not help but mean better government. It makes political parties analyze their own professions, their own principles. It makes political parties more careful to scrutinize their own candidates to be intrusted with the carrying out of the principles that the party represents.

I think no one can say that those two conditions do not mean better government.

Again, that very idea carried a little further brings more independence to the man who has been in the habit of voting.

In talking with one of the prominent Democratic leaders of the State a few years ago, he told me that his wife was a Republican; "but," he said, "my wife and myself have come to the point where we vote about the same ticket." He meant by that not that he and his wife laid aside their political convictions, because the wife voted the Republican ticket when that ticket had to do with the politics of the party, and he voted for those who would represent Democratic principles in offices where they could represent those principles; but as regards candidates that had nothing to do with the carrying out of the party principles, he found that himself and wife came to very nearly the same conclusions, because they discussed the merits and fitness of the several candidates before they went to the polls to vote. [Applause.]

And, again, the same principle applied with respect to the many other questions that are submitted to the voters of the State, such

as amendments to the Constitution, problems that are submitted that pertain to the control of schools, the control of temperance questions, in county and State, and other questions of that character. I think the independence of the man voter is far greater as the result of granting the suffrage to women than it would have been if the suffrage had not been granted. [Applause.]

Right in that connection a question is very often asked—I assume that it is taken seriously by those who ask it—and hence just a moment in reference to it. Does woman suffrage tend to disrupt the home and break up home life? I have never heard of such an instance as that in the State of Idaho. I think if there had been such an instance it would have been so unique that it would have been published not only to the people of the State of Idaho but to the world. I think that we may safely assume that there is nothing whatever in that suggestion and that we may consider the question of granting suffrage to women, leaving that hypothetical question entirely out of consideration, because, as I say, I have not known of a concrete case being pointed to although the question is asked by those who are opposed to suffrage.

There is another question that possibly deserves attention for just a moment, and then I have done, and that is this: Should women have the right to vote even if they are not asking for it?—as we are told that such is the condition in some of the States.

My judgment is that woman suffrage has made for better government in the States where suffrage has been granted. This leads me to say that women are not the only ones to be consulted with respect to that responsibility; but I think that if society attains that condition where society generally feels that women can be helpful in any line, even though it has not occurred to women, possibly through lack of her experience, that she can be helpful, if society feels that she can be helpful then society has the right to ask that help. [Applause.] And I believe that is an important point to consider in connection even with the States where the women generally have not asked for suffrage.

Experience in States where they have had that experience has proven that she can be helpful, that she is beneficial, and I think in the States where she has not even asked for suffrage in very emphatic terms, that society there needs the helpful influence of the women of the State in the solving of their political problems. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mrs. MORTON. I present Mrs. May Wright Sewell, honorary president of the International Council of Women.

Mrs. SEWELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, ladies and gentlemen, it is with profound satisfaction that I have listened to the arguments of the gentlemen who have been speaking for those States whose women have the great honor of being enfranchised citizens. I do not have that honor. I do not stand before you as one of your peers, or as anybody's constituent, because I come from the State of Indiana, whose women are still disfranchised. But my State has a proud history in relation to that question. The first bill presented to the United States Congress looking for the enfranchisement of American women was presented by the Hon. George W. Julien, of Indiana, and from that day to this a very large section of

the most intelligent, most public-spirited, and most high-minded men and women of my State have stood for this cause.

Listening with profound satisfaction and gratitude to the gentlemen who could speak for enfranchised women and the effect of their enfranchisement upon their respective communities, I shall try not to duplicate any of the arguments presented by them, all of which I would so gladly indorse; but I realize that I am speaking before a committee representing a Democratic administration, a Democratic administration that is pledged to economy, and I believe in economy. And, believing in that principle, I hope that it will be applied to the economical use of the finest forces of American society. And I would speak protesting against the great waste that our country is guilty of in having so large a section of its educated citizenship disfranchised, with its educative powers incapable of being brought to bear upon the questions that affect us all. [Applause.]

My profession is that of the teacher, and I think, gentlemen, you must realize, because you must be more familiar surely with the statistics of all the great industries and professions and occupations of this country than I am, who am not obliged by my position to have full knowledge upon these subjects, you must realize how large a proportion of the teaching, not only of little children and of growing youth but even of maturing young men and maturing young women in those great States where women also are enfranchised, is in the hands of women. To my mind it is one of the greatest inconsistencies of which any government has been guilty—to announce itself as a democracy and to place the education of its coming citizens in the hands of a disfranchised class. [Applause.]

It is from my point of view, and I speak with knowledge of my profession and with an abiding interest in it, an abiding conviction that it is the most influential and consequently should be the most responsible of all professions pursued in our country—from my point of view it is utterly impossible, whatever the patriotism, whatever the ardent love of country with which women shall be filled, that they shall teach the history of the country and the principles of its government—national, State, municipal—with the same intelligence and with the same interest and with the same sense of conviction that they could do it were they enfranchised. It is also quite impossible that the growing lads and the maturing young men who are being taught these subjects by women all over the United States shall listen to the instruction, of however high a character, proceeding from the lips of the disfranchised with the same respect that they would listen to it proceeding from the lips of the enfranchised. [Applause.]

I hope you realize the great waste of which our country is guilty, not only in placing the instruction of our citizens with a disfranchised class, but also in the expenditures of such vast sums of money in the education of a disfranchised class. It is true that all of the arguments are that the public-school system—the most democratic of all our institutions and equally democratic in all parts of our country, and almost the only institution that is equally so North and South, East and West—that great democratic institution is based upon the necessity for an intelligent citizenship. And millions of dollars are contributed to the support of public schools and agricultural colleges where women also study, even law schools where women also study; medical colleges where women also study; State

universities where women study on equal terms, study the same subjects, pass the same examinations, are endowed with the same degrees, are certificated to represent the same education; but they can not bring their educated powers to bear upon questions of government, the sole method by which they can directly pay the expense of their education back to the Government which has paid for their education. That is a tremendous waste. I hope an administration pledged to economy will recognize that the doctrine of economy demands attention to these two great forms of waste to which I have spoken. [Applause.]

There is one other subject on which I wish to speak—and I believe that it is understood that the women who address this committee this morning shall be brief in order that they may enjoy the pleasure of hearing men speak for them. It is a great satisfaction to me to hear men speaking for enfranchised women. [Applause.] I know, gentlemen, that it is quite impossible, we are all so much alike, humanly speaking, in our human construction, it is quite impossible that the men from States where women are disfranchised shall have exactly the same attitude toward this question and exactly the same ardor in its advocacy that the men have who come from States where women are enfranchised, for the man who comes from a State where the women are enfranchised recognizes that the women in that State are his constituents, and from a political view as much his constituents as the men, that their influence is as much as the influence of the men. It is a beautiful position to be in. I long to be a constituent before I die, a responsible constituent of some Senator, some Representative, who shall recognize me as one of his voting constituency.

But I do not need to express any prayer to be made a member of the most largely influential, necessarily influential class of human beings in the world, for I am a woman and with American women rests always, whether we wish it or not, a dominating influence in domestic life. Because of the great power that the women in domestic life have in the United States, I hold that it is not only unreasonable, wasteful, but criminal to leave in their hands this almost limitless power, speaking domestically, as an irresponsible power. Irresponsibility is a dangerous position for anyone. Now, gentlemen, you have spent too much money on us. You have educated us too well. You have not been able to stem the general tide and trend of nature. You have not been able to prevent your daughters from inheriting your own abilities. It is an awful situation. If you only could have prevented that, if you could have seen to it that your own powers should have descended to your sons only, it might have been safe as well as wise to keep power in the hands of sons only. But whatever efforts you have made—and I do not know that you have consciously ever made any effort to hinder the transmission of your own qualities to your own daughters—but however that may be, your powers have descended from generation to generation through your daughters, so that your daughters have these powers. To possess a power is to posses the desire to use that power. To possess an educated ability is to possess the desire to use that educated ability. The power will be used; the educated ability will be used. Shall it be used in a manner that will make its possessor and user responsible

to the community, responsible to the State, responsible to the Nation, or shall it be left to be used coupled with a sense of irresponsibility?

That, from my point of view, is a most important question. I had hoped that I should hear some one from California speak this morning, and I presume I shall before the hearing is closed. I had the great pleasure of listening to Senator Works in Alexandria, speaking for the women of his State, speaking for woman suffrage. I myself have had the pleasure of spending some recent months in California and have just come from there. You know we all like to spend our winters in California. Well, I spent a winter in California four years ago. I had visited California several times antecedent to that time. Naturally I went as an observer—I hope as an impartial observer, although a deeply interested observer—to note the changes that might have taken place in California even in the recent period of the enfranchisement of its women. It has been said by those opposed to woman suffrage that giving the ballot to women would mean a lessening of the respect and courtesy they now receive. Of course we can not expect the antisuffragists to adduce arguments. It is not their fault that they can not do so, for there are none on their side of the question; but they sometimes cite feelings, and there are feelings on that side of the question, and one is a feeling of fear that women will be less respected after they are enfranchised—that they will receive less respect and reverence and deference from the men. It is, however, ignoring the history of the development of our race and of the development of civilization to suppose that a less respect and less courtesy and less attention will be given to an increasing power. It is power and the increasing power that commands reverence, Mr. Chairman. You respect your constituents because of the power of your constituents, and you respect them, I may almost without question say, in proportion to their power.

In California, where I think urbanity and chivalry and universal kindness toward women has always been a marked characteristic of society, I found such an increase of it that I felt as if I were not very far from the happy kingdom. Of course, strangers, you know, could not know I was disfranchised. I wore no badge to show I came from a disfranchised State. I was very glad to be in a State where I might just look as if I had a vote. I found everywhere this increased attention, increased chivalry, increased reverence. It is what we must expect. Those qualities are increased always in proportion to power.

But, gentlemen, I found also another thing which I think you would be as glad of as I. I think that our foreign critics have sometimes severely criticized us, and not altogether unjustly, and that this criticism is quite harmonious with the criticism that we make secretly ourselves when we get home from social functions, and that criticism is in regard to the conversation that we hear at social functions, that it is on such trivial subjects, representing an ebbing intellectuality, representing an ebbing emotion, representing an ebbing of thought. I know I often feel that. Now, I found the conversation was improved in California. At afternoon teas, at dinners, at luncheons, at social functions of all kinds, and again and again when I asked intelligent men and cultured women, both in San Francisco and Los Angeles—which, you know, are not always perfectly har-

monious in their opinions and attitudes of mind—I found an almost concurrent testimony to this, and it was almost always the first thing one said: "Wherein has suffrage helped society?" "Oh, it has improved our talk so much; it has given us a common interest in great subjects, and men do not think they must hunt up little ones to talk about when they meet us. They do not think they must talk about the little things which formerly interested women. They talk about the important things which concern society."

A great book has recently been written by our present honored leader, The New Freedom. If you wish arguments for giving the ballot into the hands of women I think you will find every argument necessary to adduce to sustain our claim within the covers of that book.

I think, gentlemen, if you wish to know why women want to vote and why their reasons are legitimate and to be respected you have only to retire into your own, I will not say consciences, but consciousness, and find out why you want to vote, and for every reason for which you need the ballot I want the ballot. I want the ballot for reasons beyond those which you have ever yet urged for desiring it for yourselves. I wish the ballot because of the great influence that my sex has in the very cradle of its life. I wish to have the children of the Republic grow up with a twin respect for the father and the mother, for the women and the men of the country. I wish little boys not to think that at a very early age they have outgrown their mother's wisdom and their mother's influence and their mother's power.

The ballot in the Republic is the symbol of self-respect. We want an enlarged and a deepened self-respect for our enlarging patriotism. The ballot in the Republic is the symbol of responsibility. We desire that symbol of an enlarging sense of responsibility for our enlarging place in human life. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mrs. MORTON. The next speaker will be Senator Poindexter, from the State of Washington.

Senator POINDEXTER. I scarcely know why I am called upon to take part in these proceedings unless it is that I should testify as to the practical results of suffrage for women in my own State.

I was present the other day at the hearing on behalf of those who are opposed to equal suffrage, and was very much impressed by the fact that if the right to vote depended upon a question of intelligence and intellectual ability there was the most complete demonstration on that occasion of the qualifications of women that I have ever seen. The surprise to me, however, was the assumption on the part of the ladies who presented their opposition to this proposed constitutional amendment that the participation in political affairs would be detrimental to women and that they were opposed to women taking any part in the discussion or settlement of political issues.

This question itself is one of the important political questions of the country, and if those women who are opposed to participation in discussion and settlement of public problems are sincere and believe in practicing what they preach they ought to immediately retire from any participation in the discussion of this question. [Applause.]

Of course that is not my view, but I say that is the logical conclusion from their own view.

I think they ought to take part in it; I think all women ought to take part so far as they are interested and informed in the discussion and in the settlement of all public questions, and so it is perfectly fit and proper that those who are opposed to equal suffrage should have a full hearing before this committee.

Senator ASHURST. Will the Senator pardon me for interrupting?

Senator POINDEXTER. Certainly.

Senator ASHURST. I ask to be excused. I have a communication from Mrs. Ashurst, who is quite ill, and has been for some time. I wish it understood that my retiring at this moment does not indicate diminution of feeling or interest in the question being discussed, and I regret that I am not able to be present—further present this morning. I am sorry I can not hear the remainder of the argument.

Senator POINDEXTER. There is another phase of the question that it seems to me ought not to be overlooked, and that is that the proposition is not to compel women to vote. It is not to force suffrage upon those who are unwilling, but it is to give the privilege of suffrage to those who desire it and who are willing to exercise that privilege and power. There is nothing in this proposed amendment nor in the laws of any State which need necessarily put any extra responsibilities or any extra burdens upon the women of the land. It gives them a greater power and a greater opportunity, which they are free to take advantage of if they see fit. But it is not open to the objection, which has been urged so strongly before this committee, that it will necessarily interfere with those activities in which women are already engaged, and in which they have accomplished such great results without the right of suffrage. It is perfectly logical to contend that this need not interfere with those if the right of suffrage is granted, because they are at perfect liberty to participate or not participate, to take part in campaigns or not to take part, to vote or not to vote. It is for their own discretion, their own judgment to determine what change it shall make in their activities, or whether any additional work should devolve upon them on account of it.

If it be true that the responsibility of suffrage has a deteriorating effect upon women, then in the argument which I heard reiterated over and over again at the hearing, that in those States where equal suffrage for women had been adopted the women did not vote, a conclusive circumstance to support the proposition that it will not injure them is unwittingly advanced by those who urge that contention.

Of course our contention is, as I shall state in a moment, that it has not made any change in the relation of women to the State or to the family or to the community; but if it should make a change, if the right to vote should tend to have, and the exercise of that right should tend to have, all these damaging effects it is claimed it will have, then the fact that is urged here against equal suffrage that women have not exercised it is an indication that it is not dangerous; that if it is going to have such a deteriorating effect upon them they have intelligence enough to avoid it. [Applause.] It is a self-regulating proposition.

The figures, however, which were presented here are utterly unreliable. There have been no reliable statistics gathered by anybody as to the percentage of women entitled to vote in the suffrage States who have exercised that vote. There have been some attempts to gather them, but it is impossible to give any reliable figures along that line. The truth of the case is this: That in so far as women have not exercised the right to vote they are women who are not informed about political affairs, who are indifferent about the consequences of the great political issues of the day, and that the women who have voted are those who are best qualified to have the right to vote [applause], who are the best informed and the most interested and the most concerned about the effect upon conditions, upon themselves, and upon their families of the laws which are enacted in response to the suffrage of the people at the polls.

I do not regard that circumstance, even though it should be corroborated, and even though it should be established by scientific examination, that women are not disposed to exercise this privilege if it is granted to them as an argument against it.

I do agree with, I think it was Abraham Lincoln, in his remarks about the black people of the South during the Civil War, when the question was presented to the Federal Government that the negroes in the South, for whose freedom the war was being waged as one of its issues, were enlisting in the Confederate army fighting for their own continued servitude, when Lincoln said that no man who was willing to fight for his own enslavement was entitled to the support of others to be free, that that was not the purpose for which the war was being waged—to give freedom to those who did not desire it.

And that is not the purpose for which the political enfranchisement of the women of this country is being waged—to give political equality and political liberty to those who do not want it. And we are not interested in this campaign and have not done what we have done in the matter of spending time and labor which we have devoted to it—and I am not speaking of myself, because I have devoted very little time to it, but of those who have devoted their lives to this campaign for the enfranchisement of women—to give the vote to women who do not desire it, to give the ballot to those who do not want it.

In the first place, it is for the benefit not of women only but of the nation, for the benefit of all people, for the benefit of the race. [Applause.] I do not think there would be any time spent or effort made on the part of those who are interested in the movement if those only were concerned who take the view of those women who are opposed to the enfranchisement of their own sex.

One thing that struck me particularly in the entire course of the argument the other day was the emphasis placed upon the sex question. I think if there is anything that made a rather bad impression and has had a more or less bad effect growing out of this whole controversy of suffrage, it has been the tendency to drag into it the sex question. One of the speakers made a strong attack upon some woman suffrage advocate on the ground that she was in favor of a motherhood with which men would have nothing to do, or something of that kind. Well, of course any alarm of that kind is entirely misplaced. The relations of men and women can not be

affected by any laws that are passed by either the United States or the States. Those things are too fundamental. They are not involved in this question in any way whatever. There is not any proposal on the part of anybody to make any change in the relation of the sexes or the condition of the family.

You hear talk about women resigning their places in the legislature, in Government offices, where they participate in public affairs, in order to become mothers. Well, in the first place, there are many occasions when men through sickness or otherwise are not capable of performing their active duties as members of the legislature; and, in the next place, there is not any part of this resolution or the law of any one of the States which provides to what extent women shall take part in public affairs, and there is not any requirement that they shall be governors or that they shall be members of the legislature. That is a question for the women and for the men, the voters of the community, to determine under all the circumstances and conditions under which the people are situated.

As to whether women should be debarred from holding public offices by reason of the fact that they are physically different from men, which is so often urged as an argument against equal suffrage, it is not any more an argument against suffrage for women than it is an argument against suffrage for men. [Applause.]

I admit—you would not have to introduce any evidence to prove it, because I admit it—that men are superior to women in some respects; and I also admit that in a great many more respects women are superior to men. The fact that they are different is very far from being a sound argument that the right of suffrage, the voice which controls the public affairs of the country, should be limited either to the one or to the other.

In this time, when people are giving some attention to public matters, more attention than they have given heretofore; when they are considering a great many new propositions, when they are realizing that in the changes of a half century conditions have grown up in this country which call for new agencies in the Government, it is peculiarly opportune that the more open-minded character of women, that that ability of women which is regarded by some as a weakness, but which in fact is a virtue, to yield to impressions, to be guided to some extent by their feelings instead of by mere cold logic, to let a little of the heart into the conduct of affairs as well as of the intelleft—that disposition not to be bound by precedent; that willingness to advance, to progress, to improve, which is far more characteristic of women than it is of men—I say it is peculiarly opportune and proper that at this time, when we are considering so many new and untried agencies of Government, the country should have the benefit of these qualities on the part of women which will inure to the benefit of society. It will mean the bringing into the service of the state a priceless heritage of character, of the heart and soul, of one-half of the population, which to-day are unused in the difficult and arduous task of devising means for adjusting government to changed material conditions.

The argument before this committee in opposition to this proposed amendment impresses me as being not so much an argument against suffrage for women as it is an argument against suffrage at all. It was rather an argument for the limitation of the suffrage and

against the extension of suffrage. Time and time again I have heard the leading opponents of this resolution speak of the difficulties which we now contend with of reaching the intelligence of the voters with an understanding of questions that are to be voted upon and acquainting them with the characters of the candidates. Time and time again was the assertion made—and I was very much surprised to hear it—that the right to vote was not the important thing; that the exercise of the suffrage was not the means by which the great good for the Nation was being accomplished; but that some commission, of which I think the speaker or some of the speakers were members, was the great thing that was doing good in Massachusetts or other places, they seeming to forget that all these commissions, the purposes for which they are formed and the objects which they have in view, are mere creations of the law, and that the law is made as the result of the suffrage.

The whole plan and purpose of the work in which these ladies are engaged, valuable as it is, and which they say is more important than the suffrage, is itself the product of the suffrage. The whole plan and purpose is a legislative plan and purpose devised by representatives of the people, meaning by the people those of them who have the right to vote. So, while this work is important, it owes its importance and its existence to the right of suffrage, and it is entirely illogical to say that because they are doing an important work, because investigations which are conducted by commissions are useful to the community, the right of suffrage is unimportant, for there would be no commissions for the people if the spirit of the people had no expression in the suffrage. There is no possibility of accomplishing good for the people through commissions except it be in pursuance of some policy framed by intelligent public opinion expressed at the polls.

Of course, if people are of a certain political bent—and there have been those of that bent in all countries and in all ages—it is perfectly proper and logical that they should oppose the extension of the suffrage. There were, when we framed this Constitution, those in this country who were opposed to universal suffrage or to any extension of suffrage, who were in favor of a very limited suffrage, and it is perfectly proper and logical that those who have reached that conclusion upon the reasons which are familiar in the political history of this country and of England, and the more recent political history of the nations of continental Europe should take that view. I am not in harmony with it at all. My opinion is that, in the first place, the ideals of our country are based upon the idea that the people as a whole are capable of conducting their own public affairs and have a right to an equal participation in them. But even if I were in favor of a highly limited suffrage, it does not follow, upon any process of reasoning, that the limitation should be along the lines of sex. It should be along the lines of character, of intelligence, of property—if you wish to inject that element in it—and it is proper under certain circumstances that it should be considered, perhaps to a limited extent. I am not discussing the details of it. But all of those tests—intelligence, character, the ownership of property, vested interest in the community, the interest and responsibility for the family welfare, the family being the unit of our social fabric—run not along the line dividing men from women, but along the line

which finds its devious path in the community of women just as it does in the community of men, separating not men from women, but one woman from another woman, just as it separates one man from another man in the sifting process by which we shall determine, if we are to determine at all, who shall vote and who shall not vote. [Applause.]

There was a great deal said to the effect that these antisuffragists were not opposed to partial suffrage for women; that good results had followed the granting of women the right to vote in school elections in different States. It is very difficult to see why the right to vote in State matters and in national matters should not be a good thing if the right to vote in school matters is a good thing. I fail to see how those who indorse partial suffrage for women as being beneficial to the State and not injurious to the women can stop short of the conclusion that full suffrage for women, by the same argument, ought to be granted. [Applause.]

Of course, if in Massachusetts and in other States where women have a partial suffrage they have exercised this beneficially—and those are important questions that are involved in school matters or other matters in which they have the right of suffrage—if they have exercised it beneficially there, if it has had good results, why does it not follow as an unanswerable conclusion that the advent of women into the larger public affairs would likewise have good results?

The same questions are involved in many States. The same questions are involved in national affairs as are involved in your local community affairs, directly and indirectly. It is simply a question of geographical extent, a question of a government for the entire Nation instead of a government for one State. Or it may be a question of a government for one State instead of a government of a school district. If the women of one school district can assist in solving the question of education for the children, the kind of public schools they shall have, this great system of public education, of levying taxes, of determining the character of the teacher, why can not the women of the State solve the same questions as to public schools, as to teachers, as to the system of public education for the State; and if they can solve beneficially, or aid in solving questions of education for the State, why does it not follow as an irrefutable conclusion that they can be beneficial in likewise solving questions of child labor, questions of hours of labor for men and women, questions of conditions of labor, questions of the relation between men and women?

We have laws upon our statute books regulating the family, the rights of men and the rights of women. Long ago our State, and many other States, enacted laws giving to women in the family the same rights that men have, making them equal in the family, giving them the same rights as to property that men had. Now, if they have the same rights in the family, if that status is created by a law of the State, fixing woman upon an equal basis with her husband in the family, giving her an equal right to property under the laws of the State, if those are questions which are to be determined by the suffrage of the people of those States which put the men and the women upon an equal basis, how can it be said that there is any reason why the women who are placed upon this equal basis in

all of the fundamental things upon which society is based should not be upon an equal basis as to the right to fix those conditions and to regulate them after they are fixed? [Applause.]

Of course that status of domestic relations—domestic law—is comparatively recent, so far at least as the English law and the American law, which is inherited from the English law, is concerned. It has been the process of family evolution. It has been a slow growth; it has come up from a condition when, as you all know, woman was regarded—although it now seems incredible, and it is an anachronism—simply as a chattel. But it grew out of that condition. It developed into a state when women had certain rights, when they were protected against their lord and master, protected against physical violence from him, when they were given certain partial rights as to property, put upon a little better basis of self-respect and independence, gradually improving their condition until in the process of time and as a part of the growth of civilization, as a part of this evolution from barbarism and savagery, they have reached their present-day conditions under modern civilization, which we are so proud of. The fruit and flower of it all, regardless of the statutory right to vote, is that woman, through this long and difficult process, during which process the world has become educated, has become enlightened, has become benevolent, has become Christianized, has finally emerged upon the plane of domestic equality with man. [Applause.]

It is only the logical conclusion of this process, it is the inevitable conclusion, that the additional right of political equality with men should be granted them. [Applause.]

It was said the other day in the argument here that the historical precedent of the contention of the American colonies that there should not be taxation without representation was not parallel to the contention of the women for the right to vote—that James Otis's phrase had no application—and the speaker went on to point out that that was a contention in which a nation or a set of colonies, including all the people in them, declared that it was not right to govern them or to tax them without any representation at all. It is true that there is that difference. Nobody contends that the question is similar in every respect. The contention is that it is similar in principle. And it is similar in principle. It is just as unjust, as unfair, as tyrannical, to govern the women of the land, who, we admit—I assume we have admitted it; we have certainly admitted it in the State of Washington—are the equals of men, that we govern them without their consent, without their representation, it is just as much a violation of the true principles of government as the governing and taxing of the colonies by the Parliament of Great Britain without the colonies having any voice in selecting the Parliament.

I have said a great deal more than I had any idea of saying and have gone into phases of the question which I did not intend to discuss at all. I want to say that we have an object lesson in our State of equal suffrage for women. I am perfectly free to say that for many years, while it was being agitated, I took no special interest in it; I was one of that great bulk of people which constitute the chief resistance and the chief difficulty in this great movement, who were indifferent, who were inert, forming that great body of social inertia or standpattism, as it is sometimes called, against which so often

social movement and progress futilely expends it force. But finally the issue became a practical one, through more or less tedious processes, and I finally began to take some part in it, and that was, perhaps, partly by accident. I am reminded at this moment of one of the political campaigns in which I was engaged, in which I did not feel that incentive that a man who is a candidate for office, working in his own behalf, has, as I was working simply for my party, and working for my friends—which I ought to have done. But I am simply saying that I was not spurred as people are when they have a direct personal issue at stake. I was urged by a friend of mine to go to a certain town in the State and make a speech. I told him I had been there during the primary campaign, which was a long and arduous one, and I would rather go to some other place where I had not been and meet some people I had not met before. But he said it was absolutely necessary that I should go to this certain place, and in fact he communicated with me two or three times and insisted that I should be there at a certain time. So I finally agreed to go, as it was apparently a matter of political life or death, or nearly so.

When I got down there about 6 o'clock in the evening—and the meeting was to be held at 8 o'clock—I found that apparently there was not anybody in town except this friend of mine that knew that I was going to speak. I said: "Where is the meeting going to be held?" He said, "At the opera house." We went to the opera house and it looked as if it had not been occupied for six months. The floor was covered with paper and dirt, and the windows were broken out and there was no light in the place. But we skirmished around and got somebody to get a light. It seems that they had made arrangements for a band. That was the only thing they had arranged for. Finally we had the meeting under those circumstances, which I had been induced in that way to come to. I found it rather discouraging, it having been represented to me that it was to be an important meeting. When the meeting opened, my friend, instead of introducing me, introduced two women suffrage orators, and they spoke for a hour and a half. That was a part of the process by which I was converted to woman suffrage. About six months afterwards the result I obtained from the meeting was to get a bill for $50 for the band that played at that meeting. [Laughter.]

That indicates the way in which the enterprising leaders of woman suffrage began their active campaign in the State of Washington.

Of course I have a little better record than that. That was early in the game. I was then, as I say, in the process of being converted, and before the election was held, fortunately, I was more interested. But it carried, and I am very glad to say that it furnishes an object lesson which disproves utterly all the terrible fears that were expressed here at the antisuffrage hearing the other day. It has not made any change in the family relations. It has not made any change, unless it be for good, as was stated by a speaker here this morning, in the attitude of men toward women. You could not pass any law that would make a change in the relations of men to women. Their relations have nothing to do with the right of women to vote, in spite of the fact that that feature is discussed so much by those opposed to woman suffrage. Men and women live there together just as they did before; they have their families just as they did before. There is just as large a proportion of children as there was before.

Their homes are just as well regulated. Women have not deserted the usual occupations of women. They have not been weaned away from that particular and indispensable function which they fill in the home and in all of the relations of life. They are still as precious, they are still as indispensable, they are not different. They exercise the right of suffrage in a very quiet way, or at least most of them do. They do not have to get a furlough of three weeks or three months or any other length of time in order to go to the polls to vote. They are informed. They read the papers. They are fully as intelligent, and, in my opinion, more intelligent, than the men are. There is nothing particularly startling when you see them going to the polls voting. I went to the polls with my wife at the last election, and I thought it was going to be rather embarrassing for her, but it was not at all. She was pretty quiet about it. She asked some questions. I did not ask her whom she was going to vote for and she did not ask me whom I was going to vote for. She went into the booth and voted and came out, and we went away together. The presence of women had a good effect on the demeanor of the men. Everything was orderly and quiet. There is not in the United States a community, there is not in the toughest district of New York City a community, where the women could not vote with perfect safety and in perfect peace if they are given the right to vote, and be protected and respected.

My purpose in appearing here was simply this: To say that none of the changes, the dangers, the fears, which have been anticipated, where equal suffrage is now a part of the constitution of the State, have been realized in the State of Washington, and I do not believe they will be realized in any other State. They will not be realized in New York State, where it has been said that conditions are different. They are different, it is true. There is a larger mass of illiteracy, there is a larger mass who are not accustomed to participating in government. I presume that these Western States, which have been the first ones to adopt woman suffrage, have a higher average of intelligence among their voters—I do not mean to say that they have any higher intelligence but a higher average of intelligence among their voters—than any other States in the Union. The fact that there is more illiteracy, that there are different civic problems to be dealt with in New York City, furnishes, instead of an objection to giving women the right to vote, an added argument in favor of giving women in New York, the intelligent body of public-spirited women, the right to participate in the solution of those civic problems.

So, I say, instead of it being an objection it ought to be an inducement. It is said that the Federal Government ought not to intervene. Why should not the Federal Government intervene? Why should not the Federal Government, which is the only Government we have for the entire Nation—because this is a national question, in my judgment—pass such a resolution as is proposed?

If the Federal Government does not act for the Nation no one else can. The only question is, Is it a national question? My own opinion is that it is a national question to the same extent that the amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States was a national question; that the Federal Government has just as much legal right, just as much constitutional right, and there is just as

much propriety in making it a part of the Constitution of the United States, as in separating the Government into three departments; just as proper for a great fundamental question of this kind, to determine whether or not there shall be one-half of the citizens throughout the United States disfranchised, to be dealt with in the Constitution of the United States as there was that there should be in the Constitution of the United States provisions defining the powers of Congress, dividing it into two branches, specifying how its Members should be elected, how the States should be represented, giving to each State two Senators.

Those questions are no more a part of the fundamental problem of National Government than is the question of whether or not suffrage, which is exercised by men exclusively, solely because it is an inheritance from darker ages, should not be extended likewise to their wives and mothers and sisters. [Applause.]

STATEMENT OF MRS. CLARA BEWICK COLBY, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE FEDERAL WOMAN'S EQUALITY ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. COLBY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the only reference made at the Saturday session of this hearing to the bill before you which provides for the submission to the States of an amendment to the Federal Constitution relating to woman suffrage was the statement that it would be resented by the States as an unwarrantable interference with their electorate. We were told that 19 States would resist it, and among these 19 were the Pacific Coast States, all of which have adopted woman suffrage and could hardly be relied upon to oppose it for other States. We were told that "11 seceding States would resist to the last any interference with their electorate." It is strange to be called on to consider the supposed attitude of any part of our country as that of rebellion against an amendment which had received the necessary two-thirds vote in House and Senate and the necessary three-fourths vote in all the State legislatures. If 19 were really opposed to it, it could not be adopted as part of the Constitution, and there would be the end of it. But suffrage workers, who have stood side by side for so many years with some of the leading women of the South in work for the ballot, and whose conventions have been so royally welcomed in that part of the country, resent the imputation that any part of our united land would array itself against the will of the majority fairly expressed. No bill or resolution for woman suffrage proposes to interfere with the qualifications imposed by the States. Sex is not a qualification, but an attribute. No woman would vote under this amendment or under any law who was not qualified according to the requirements of the State, and the qualifications would be the same for men and women. A woman-suffrage law or amendment would simply prevent the discrimination against a qualified woman simply on the ground of her sex.

We are told that women are organizing in large numbers to prevent the suffrage from being conferred upon them. Every step in woman's forward march has been regarded with indifference, distrust, and even hostility by the majority of women until the point was gained, when, lo, they enter cheerfully and eagerly into the rights,

privileges, duties, and opportunities which have been forced upon them. We never hear now that women are incapable of controlling their own property and affairs and that it shows unwomanly distrust of men that they should desire to do so. Gone forever is the fear that woman is unfit physiologically and pathologically for the higher education. Nobody thinks now that it "unsexes" a woman to speak in public, although women teachers once held back their skirts that they might not be touched by so bold a creature as Susan B. Anthony when she passed to the platform after having won the reluctant consent of the men teachers to address the convention. Even the "antis" avail themselves of the concessions wrung from custom by those willing to be scorned that others might be free. This opposition of woman was due to the fact that her nature had been dwarfed and undeveloped by reason of her age-long subjection, and its crystallization into organization determined to prevent any further extension of freedom to woman means that its deadly and deadening work is now being overcome. The movement has caught the most reluctant in its onward march. They have profited by the trend of progress they have resisted; they have opinions and will go back on all their preconceived notions for the purpose of expressing them.

The woman movement is the central fact in the evolution of the race. It began when man was made in the image of God, male and female, and set over the earth to have dominion. Or, if you like the other account better, when Eve had the courage to eat of the "tree of knowledge" and induced Adam to accompany her in the upward path of human development. At times in all evolutionary movements they take on such impetus that they seem to be revolutionary, and the woman movement in now an overturning of old customs, prejudices, and a revolutionizing of everything that is the outcome of artificially imposed restrictions. The woman-suffrage phase of it has been its herald and is its pilot, seeking to guide into the safe harbor of responsible citizenship the craft that bears the woman of to-day, with all her longings, aspirations, and determinations. It is the effort to clear away the obstructions that make the dangerous eddies and whirlpools along her course. Woman suffrage is the orderly marshaling of the forces of progress, laying home upon each awakened woman's soul her obligation to be and to do her best for the service of her country.

We were told that it is the service of humanity, and not the service of citizenship, which calls forth the best powers of woman. I can not distinguish between these forms of service, for what is citizenship made of if not of humanity? It was said that woman's job is men, women, and children. I think these are the job of both men and women, and all the job they have got, and it is far too difficult a job for men or women to undertake alone.

Men are organizing against woman suffrage, we are told. That is not at all surprising or discouraging; it only demonstrates the fact that where women lead, men naturally follow. That is why it is so important that women should be wise, patriotic, and imbued with the spirit of our Republic, else when the blind lead the blind they both fall into the ditch. The alien and noxious ideas of a womanhood that enjoys its own disfranchisement are eating out the life of our

Nation; and we have men saying "too much suffrage already," and women urging, as was done the other day, the disfranchisement of the vicious and the ignorant. It was once said in the Senate of the United States that the right of suffrage was not an inherent right, but that it could be given or withheld at pleasure. "Let that idea," replied Gratz Brown, "once crystallize in the hearts of American people and you have rung the death knell of American liberties."

Ignorance and vice are open dangers to our Republic, and the fact that they vote must incite every patriot to take every means to diminish vice and ignorance. But these are not half so dangerous to republican institutions as the shoddy aristocracy that despises them and despairs of the principles of our Government when as yet they have been only half tried.

But if some men have followed the lead of women along reactionary and undemocratic paths, many more have followed the lead of women along the path of progress which has the vista at the end of a fully developed individual and of a perfected humanity. As soon as there were women brave enough and strong enough to demand freedom for their sex there were men brave enough and generous enough to stand by them and for them; and so the large-hearted and far-sighted of both sexes have worked together. Almost every nation has now its men's league for woman suffrage. The first was formed in England, the second in Holland, and now a great convention of the International Alliance of Men for Woman Suffrage is to be held in Budapest in connection with the International Alliance of Women. Surveying the forces that are for us and those that are against us we are proud of our company.

We heard a good deal on Saturday of the shortcomings of women of Massachusetts. Usually it is the women of the States where they vote that are attacked, but this was not a suitable occassion for the ordinary procedure. I am thankful it has been my lot to stand with those who regard evils arising from ignorance and inexperience as transitory; and for truth, justice, love, and liberty, the noblest possessions of the human heart. We do not claim perfection for women. That would be asking too much for men to endure at the present stage of their development, but all who have followed the results of women voting must be as astonished as grateful that women have justified so universally the claim that suffragists have made for them and the trust that men have placed in them. They have, on the whole, risen to meet their new responsibilities well and wisely, even quite ordinary women, who never had the education of working for the ballot, and who would have been called antisuffragists in antesuffrage days. We believe the women of Massachusetts, and of the whole United States, may be as safely trusted with the ballot as those who now possess it. At the mock ballot, or so-called referendum, in Massachusetts the antis never tire of speaking of the small per cent of women that voted "Yes." They neglect to state that it was nearly three times the per cent. of those who voted "No."

We are told that the best child labor law was passed in California eight months before the women voted. Coming events cast their shadow before. Women need not actually vote in order to secure legislation when they have the power of the vote in reserve. When

the parliamentary suffrage was given to the women of the Isle of Man, before they had had the chance to vote a delegation of members of Parliament sent for a committee of leading ladies and asked them what changes they wanted in the property laws. In my own State of Oregon, where women have not yet had the chance to vote at a general election, the legislature has shown great anxiety to pass such laws as women desired. I have not compared the laws of the different States in the respect of children, but the Inter-Parliamentary Union a few years ago did so, and they put on record that the laws of Colorado relating to child life in its various aspects of education, home, and labor were "the sanest, most humane, and most progressive laws to be found on any statute books in the world." Very soon after women obtained the ballot in Colorado Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, a member of the Colorado house, secured the passage of a law prohibiting the labor of children under 14 years of age. It was the best legislation up to that time, and in 1911 Mrs. Wright assisted Mrs. Louise U. Jones, a member of the legislature, to prepare and carry through a law said by Representative Taylor to be "the most wise and complete law in this country, fully regulating employment and protection of children."

"We have all the rights we need," say sheltered and well-to-do women, a most selfish and narrow point of view when they have not the legal power to protect the interests of the less fortunate, or to change the conditions from which they suffer. The suffrage movement has taught us the solidarity of the race, and that a wrong done to any woman anywhere is a wrong done to all women everywhere. Women of to-day owe it to those whose efforts obtained for them their present rights and privileges to pass them on as sacred duties to the less favored.

"Women have more rights than men," we are told. How many such rights would men accept in exchange for the right to protect themselves and to have and make effective their own opinion on what they want? If this were true, the first thing women would do with the ballot would be to give men an equal show. "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none" is our motto. Women are divided on the policy of asking for any special protective legislation for women and girls, and those who do ask for it realize that it is to meet a special need which has grown up through the ages because man had the sole responsibility for legislation and protected property interests rather than human interests, thus not creating the proper balance between them. Man naturally develops and conserves material or property interests; woman's nature is to look at everything from the point of view of how it is going to affect her children. Man looks after the affairs of life; woman cares for life itself. When woman is free to do her part, and has been free long enough to even things up a bit, we shall not hear of any special legislation; the welfare of her son is as precious to woman as that of her daughter.

Three portents were held up as bugbears in the suffrage movement—socialism, feminism, and militancy.

Socialists have equal rights for women in their platform, and while they do not all vote according to their principles we are grateful to them for that and to all parties who have stood for this prin-

ciple. We are particularly grateful to those men of more than one party who marched with us in the parade, but they all know that as suffrage organizations we have not affiliated with any political party, although we do not in any way restrict individual members. Socialism will be all right if it comes as the result of women's voting and you will all like it; but woman is always recognized as the conservative force in society, and Socialists show their sincerity in standing for the ballot for women when they realize that women will be far more likely to try to improve the old paths than to seek out new ones.

If there is a fear of feminism, a fear which is not shared by our greatest philosophers and seers, the only ground for it in the inequality of rights, and the separation of the sexes in a wide range of human interests that should be common to both. Men are under women's tutelage in their impressionable years, and the mother and teacher must have knowledge, experience, and breadth of vision concerning those things which the man will have to do with in afterlife. To avoid what is known as "feminism" women must be less womanish and more womanly; man must develop the feminine side of his nature, and thus "the eternal womanly leads us on."

Militancy has no place in America and the only danger of it lies in the increasing hoodlumism in this country of which the parade on March 3 gave us an example. This is not due to woman suffrage, for such a thing would be impossible where women vote. It is not due to the effort to obtain suffrage, for that has been carried on peaceably in all parts of the country. A class of men are always ready to reflect the brutality which is condoned in high quarters, and the hooliganism of men in England finds its reflex action here among men in this country whose respect for women has been lowered by the coarse allusions and suggestive pictures used by those who oppose giving the sovereign power to women. It should always be remembered that the ballot always commands respect for those who hold it.

I have stood where English women as gently as bravely were trying to obtain a hearing from the hundreds of young men who were surging against their platform trying to overturn it. One of these asked me why I did not say something, and raising my voice that it might carry to the questioner above the din I said, "Men don't treat women this way in my country." He touched his hat and withdrew from the crowd. This was the tribute to American manhood. Let this question be settled before it breeds sex antagonism. Women who want to vote are seeking to break down artificial barriers between the sexes, and to be comrades and helpers of men. This partnership is what is needed in the home which has been too much regarded as an affair of only one sex, and in the state which has just as mischievously been regarded as solely the affair of the other. With freedom there will be a natural division of duties which will take the place of the artificial barriers now built by man. The nature of woman, her love for home and mate, and child, are not an accident dependent for their existence upon legislative enactment. They came to us from the cave woman, and from the original impulse which differentiated itself as male and female, to be cosovereign with each other. Let man cease to regard himself as the executive of the divine purpose for woman and let her find it out for herself.

Freedom will bring the woman seen by the poet Shelley in his vision of the day that is to come when women will be—

Frank, beautiful, and kind,
Speaking the wisdom once she could not know;
Looking emotions once she dared not feel;
And changed to all that once she dared not be;
But—being now—made earth a heaven.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The hour for the adjournment of the committee has arrived.

Mrs. MORTON. Might I have the privilege of including in the record the addresses of Miss Pitzer and another lady who did not have the opportunity of speaking this morning?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a matter that I will have to submit to the whole committee. The committee will now take a recess until 10 o'clock Saturday, the 26th of April, when the National Association on Woman Suffrage will be heard.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock, the committee adjourned until Saturday, April 26, 1913, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1913.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Thomas (chairman), Owen, Ransdell, Hollis, Sutherland, Clapp, and Jones.

The CHAIRMAN. The ladies in charge of the hearing will arrange the speakers, as was the case at the last meeting.

Dr. ANNA H. SHAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am here as the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to beg of the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the Senate a hearing in behalf of the proposed amendment to the Constitution granting to the women of the United States the privileges of citizenship and the right of suffrage. For nearly half a century the women of this nation have come here year after year, at every session of Congress, making this claim, that the women citizens of the United States equally with the men citizens are interested in the Government, and are interested in securing the right to express their will in regard to the form of Government under which they shall live.

With this end in view, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we come before your committee to-day asking a favorable report upon this amendment to the Constitution. We ask a favorable report because we believe that the time has come in the United States when such a report can be made with a very fair prospect of a passage, because of the fact that already in the United States there are nine States in which women are enfranchised equally with men, have an equal voice in electing the legislature which elects the Senate, and therefore having a voice in electing to the United States Government the officials who are to help make our laws; and we feel that it is particularly unjust that certain States shall give to women the right of a voice in the Government while other States deprive women of a similar right.

We think it is particularly unjust that a woman living in one of the States where women vote to-day may move to another State, according to the laws of the country giving the husband the right to decide the domicile, and at his wish or will he may remove from one State to another and yet retain his citizenship while the woman loses hers.

We believe this to be an unjust discrimination not only against women who are already entitled to vote, but equally unjust to those who are not.

Year after year we have come with our representatives, law-abiding citizens. No complaint can be made against the women of this country because of the manner in which they have carried on their campaign. From the very beginning it has been dignified, persistent, patient, and logical. In order to create antagonism to the women of the United States, and in order to bring any complaint against us, people are obliged to go to foreign lands.

We are not asking the right of suffrage for the women of Great Britain, nor of Germany, nor of India; but for the women of these United States, who have done their fair share in making this Nation what it is to-day.

Those who live in pioneer countries, those of you who understand what pioneer life is, know very well that the women of this Nation have suffered more than the men have in their sacrifices to build up our country, and when I say that I do not mean to disparage for one moment the splendid service which men have rendered this Nation in pioneer life. But according to my view of civilization the pioneer life of the people is the real fundamental life and basis of the Government's stability, and recognizing all the service which men have rendered, I still say women have rendered a greater service because they have made greater sacrifices. It means infinitely more to a woman to leave old associations, old friendships, and the culture and refinements of an older community, to move into a new country, and begin life all over again in the hope of rearing a family amidst conditions which are better.

She gives up everything, while the man who moves out with her struggles hard, works hard, has everything to win, the man wins everything, the woman loses everything; and notwithstanding that, the loyalty of the women of this country has been one of the greatest factors in building up a Nation such as we have it to-day.

The aggressive spirit of man, the hold-on, stick-to-it, patient spirit of woman has produced our Government. If ever women bought their freedom at a price American women have bought theirs. They have paid a tremendous price for it, and the daughters of the pioneer women realize the sacrifices which they had to make, as well as did their mothers, and the pioneer daughters have become the strength of the culture and refinement of the country; yet while they do not regret their sacrifice, they do claim the rights and privileges of citizenship, if not on the basis of justice, then as a reward for the service which women have rendered their country.

That is all apart from the justice of a free people of a Republic and their right to a voice in their Government.

We were asked recently at a legislative hearing what we had to give to the country—as though women had never given anything to the country, as though they could not furnish anything to the

country to-day. We might as well ask what men have to give to the country? We have ourselves to give, we have our homes, we have our children, we have all the interests which are involved in the word "home and family, humanity and country." We have everything to give, and the country which has given so much to us deserves our loyalty; it deserves our service, and we are ready to render it. As we look out over the country and realize present conditions, no intelligent American citizen can doubt that the country needs a kind of service which it does not have in the present electorate.

Recognizing that men have done fairly well with their suffrage, still conditions are such that much more needs to be done. If men can do it all by themselves, why have they not done it already? The fact that they have not and do not is, to my mind, the best evidence that they need a kind of power which men as men do not possess. And there is no place to find that except in the women who are disfranchised and therefore politically powerless, but who might bring to the help of men that particular and peculiar force which is feminine, which will enable the Government to be the kind of Government that it ought to be, and which will render the same protection for physical, for moral, and for spiritual health which the men of the country are striving to secure for material prosperity.

It is in behalf of this side of our Government's life that we plead to-day, aside from the fact that we are citizens and equally with all other citizens in a republic have the right of self-government. In behalf of this petition I would like to present to your honorable body the names of various speakers who will represent the National Suffrage Association.

Mr. Chairman, I present you Mrs. La Follette, the wife of Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, who is our first speaker.

Mrs. La Follette. We all appreciate, I am sure, the presence here of this great leader who has devoted her abilities, her whole life to this cause. After she has spoken it seems as though there was little for anyone else to say, since her life is the message.

A few years ago the possibility of securing amendments to the Constitution of the United States for the income tax and the direct election of United States Senators was as great as the possibility to-day of securing amendment now before you for consideration.

It is needless to suggest that favorable action on the part of your committee and on the part of the Congress of the United States would place the woman-suffrage movement on a high plane and advance the cause tremendously.

In this struggle for equal suffrage the real issue is not, it seems to me, whether all women are asking for the vote or whether all men are demanding it; but whether it is in the interest of the home, of society, of government, that the people as a whole shall participate in making the laws that govern them as a whole. [Applause.]

It is a question of democracy. My basic reason for believing in equal suffrage is that it will make better homes. [Applause.]

The home is the basis of society. Government exists for society. Home, society, government, are best where men and women keep together intellectually and spiritually, where they have the widest

range of common interests, where they share with each other the solution of their common problems.

In the early pioneer days, when all the work was done in the home and women wove and spun and prepared the food and made the candles, the home was an independent unit. Indeed, government touched the common life very little then, except as it gave title to the land and demanded military service and taxed the people to pay the expenses of war. But in modern complex life government touches its every phase. The government of the township and the city to-day are very largely questions of public housekeeping. Roads, schools, street car service, gas, electric lights, markets, are all questions in which women primarily should be interested at least equally with men.

What is true of the town and of the city is true of the State. State taxes, State education, State control of public utilities, railway service, telephone and telegraph, insurance, and industrial commissions, are all questions that affect directly the happiness and the comfort of the homes.

And when it comes to national affairs I can not think of a single important question that has been before the Congress of the United States in the last 25 years in which women have not been equally concerned with men. Quite naturally they have directed their indirect influence through their clubs and their various organizations to the pure-food law, to the conservation of our national forests, to the preservation of Niagara, to the child-labor legislation, to children's bureaus.

This shows how women's direct influence in legislation would supplement the work of men and make our Government more regardful of the general human welfare.

And, too, women should be interested and should understand the great economic question. If the tariff in any way affects the cost of what we wear and what we eat, if the trusts and combinations have anything to do with the high cost of living, in that the price of the great staples like beef and sugar and oil and woolens and silks are fixed by monopoly, then women should know about it, because if that is true the only way to remedy those wrongs radically is through national legislation.

Women do most of the buying. Ninety per cent of the $10,000,000,000 spent in the United States for food, clothing, and shelter is spent by women. When we buy a gallon of oil, a yard of cloth, a pound of sugar, we are up against an economic problem the same as when those questions are considered by you in the United States Senate. [Applause.]

Now, think of the enormous waste of time, of effort, of nervous energy on the part of women who have been taught by tradition that these are personal individual problems which they can settle by haggling with the butcher and the grocer and haunting the bargain counter. [Applause.]

Why talk about women not having the time to vote? Women waste more time in this fruitless effort to make both ends meet than it would take them to vote every day in the year and prepare themselves to understand all the great questions before the country. [Applause.]

Another aspect of this great question of time. Who constitute the great body of voters of the United States? Is it men of wealth and leisure? If the men who work, who are the majority of the voters of this country, if they can find time to inform themselves and to vote intelligently on the affairs of our Government, surely women—no matter how busy—can find time for that same patriotic service. [Applause.]

We have too long confused the purposes of government with the machinery of government. Fortunately, the effort to make the act of suffrage decent for men has prepared the way for women. The Australian ballot, the primary election, the proposed election by mail, the initiative, the referendum, the recall, are all instruments of a new political order that guard the act of voting and make it as sacred as its object.

I am not one of those who expect any great radical change because of equal suffrage—that is, any great radical, immediate change. It has always seemed to me very natural that women and men of the same family should have somewhat similar views on political questions, much as fathers and sons and brothers now do.

It is to the general uplift that we must look for the great benefit of equal suffrage. Granting equal opportunities to women in education—and that movement, remember, met with much the same bitter opposition that this movement meets with—granting of equal opportunities in education did not suddenly change the status of society. But who questions the powerful influence upon society to-day of the liberal education of women? [Applause.]

Not only women, but men, for sons share equally with daughters the benefits of the broadened vision and widened extension of mothers and teachers. If, when their fathers are busy, we women can answer intelligently the questions our sons ask regarding public men and measures, do you question that they will be better prepared for citizenship?

When I finished speaking before a rural audience in Wisconsin last fall, a tall, fine-looking Norwegian farmer arose and said in a final way, "Well, a man gets just about as much from his mother as from his father." And that is all there is to this suffrage question.

Your committee have been very patient and very generous in listening to the extended discussion of this subject in all its phases; but I wonder if—after all has been said—you will not agree that it resolves itself into a simple matter of common sense. [Applause.]

Participation in government is just a question of patriotism, love of our community, loyalty to our State, and devotion to our Nation. You know how Lincoln defined government at Gettysburg.

And are not women people? Government is not a man's problem nor a woman's problem alone. It is their mutual problem. And it is only when women are given their share of responsibility in the solution of public questions, that the affairs of government will be brought into the home for discussion. Not until then will government become a familiar subject, interwoven in the family life and understood as it must be if democracy in its best form is to endure. I thank you. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Our next speaker will be Hon. John F. Shafroth, of Colorado, who will speak from the standpoint of a man who knows.

I have always observed, Mr. Chairman, that the people who know that woman suffrage is a failure always live farthest away from where woman suffrage is practiced. Senator Shafroth. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. SHAFROTH, OF COLORADO.

Senator SHAFROTH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, after listening to the eloquent speeches that have been made by the ladies I do not see why I was called on to come here and make a talk unless it was because in the early days, when I was a Member of the House of Representatives, I introduced a similar resolution about a half a dozen times, and Dr. Shaw and I would go before the committee and try to get a report, and we could get neither a favorable nor an adverse report. If a similar number of people clothed with the power to vote had gone before the Committee on the Judiciary in the House of Representatives and demanded a report upon a bill involving principles of liberty, nearly every Congressman would have fought for the privilege of favorably reporting that constitutional amendment. [Applause.]

Great power inheres in every person who has the right to vote, and that power extends in all lines; extends particularly in opening vocations for the employment of women, and which I insist must and does give better wages to women; and if there were no other problem in this question except that of the increase of wages for women, it would justify the adoption of this constitutional amendment. [Applause.]

Ever since an eminent writer said that all powers of government are either delegated or assumed, that all powers not delegated are assumed, and all assumed powers are usurpations, it seems to me that the problem, so far as the right and justice of the women to vote, has been solved. And now we do not hear arguments against the right; it is the expediency—as if a question of right should be determined upon expediency.

But upon the question of expediency those people who have lived in the States where woman suffrage has existed have found that it is expedient. And why is it expedient? Because it puts into politics an element that is for good. [Applause.] People seem to be afraid of risking this element. Who are these people that we are afraid of, who are going to vote? They are our mothers, our wives, our sisters, our daughters. I do not care in what position a man may be, whether he is in high or low position, he will not contend that his mother, his wife, his sister, and his daughters will produce a more corrupting influence upon politics than he himself. [Applause.] In fact, you put it to 10 men and 9 out of the 10 will say that those members of his family are freer from political trickery or political corruption than he himself. The ballot would be safer in their hands.

What is the fear, then, that we should entertain? Every once in a while the papers send out something about a woman having committed an election fraud. There were some such statements made a number of years ago and the people of the East went almost wild because a woman had been caught in the act of committing some political fraud. But they did not notice that in the same paragraph

there was the statement that 10 men had been implicated in the same fraud. And if it is so heinous for one woman to be connected with a fraud in an election, is it not ten times as strong an argument against man suffrage that ten times as many men are guilty of the same fraud? That does not seem to prevail against them, however. But also in that dispatch you found the statement that the 10 men put the woman up to it in order to shield themselves. And yet it is used as an argument against woman suffrage that 1 woman was induced by 10 men to commit some fraud that they wanted themselves to conceal.

This is just in line with most of the arguments that are made against equal suffrage, and they are unfair. When we look at the fact that a pure element is going into our political system it can not but be for the betterment of the entire system.

In these later days there has been great progress made in the cause of equal suffrage. There has been great progress made in the rights of women before the law. We know that now, since primogeniture is no longer the rule, except in one or two countries—and not in the United States at all—property of the parent descends to the girls as well as to the boys, and thus one-half of the property in the United States every generation goes to the girls. And yet in those States where there is no vote given to women their fortunes are at the mercy of the persons who may vote burdens upon their property without even consulting them.

Why is it that I, as a man, have the right to make all the laws, not only for myself and that govern myself, but the laws that govern my mother, my sister, and my daughters? Why is that? Is it any right that has been voted to me by the women? No. It has been an assumed right, and that assumed right is nothing but usurpation.

We proclaimed loudly during the Revolutionary War that taxation without representation was tyranny. Now, since one-half of the property of the United States every generation goes to the women, taxes without their having any voice as to the same is tyranny, and we ought to remember that principle for which our forefathers fought. [Applause.]

I am afraid my time is up.

Dr. SHAW. Finish your sentence.

Senator SHAFROTH. I want to say that in my judgment this whole question is simply an evolution in government. We have been progressing from the very tyrannical power of the King to limited monarchies, to republics, and now we are assuming and trying to get the true voice of the people. [Applause.] Since we say, and since our Declaration of Independence said, that the just powers of the Government are derived from the consent of the governed, and we know that women are governed, it must be recognized that that is a principle which lies at the foundation of your rights. The recognition of this principle has been going on, extending further and further, and we now see the dawn of a universal equal suffrage in the United States. When Colorado was admitted into the sisterhood of the full-suffrage States it was the second State to adopt woman suffrage. That was 19 years ago, but we find that in the last two years there have been added six States, and it has given the movement an impetus toward this higher government, toward this better element in

this political system which we have that is bound ultimately to bring success to the cause. I thank you for your attention. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, our next speaker is Representative J. W. Bryan, of the State of Washington, who also is familiar with the results of woman suffrage.

REMARKS OF HON. J. W. BRYAN, REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Chairman, Senators, and fellow citizens, I am glad that the time has come when public men and speakers who attempt to say something to mixed audiences do not get up, or at least are not expected to get up, and pay some beautiful tribute of praise to the ladies [applause]; but that the time has come when we have to reach out our hands and extend a hand of fellowship to our fellow citizens. [Applause.]

As was stated a moment ago, the country is evolving toward real people's rule, and I want not so much to suggest a consideration of that evolution toward public rule as to call to the attention of this committee the fact that that very evolution, that that development makes and creates a demand for woman suffrage. It is a record that has always been observed in all historical development, that as authority was concentrated, as authority was concentrated in a few, so the demand for greater power on the part of the people was smothered out and was neglected, was forgotten; but just as in proportion as the power and authority of government has come down to the hearthstone and become a part of the home and has been the subject of discussion in the home, just in that proportion have all members of the home demanded and participated in the administration of governmental affairs, either directly or indirectly.

As the Government has come to where it could be discussed about the fireside, and be considered around the family table and be discussed in the home, so, as that developed, women and all who are subject to government and are made liable to the restrictions by its provisions, have taken part.

The great demand all over the country and the world is for light and publicity. We hear it in every direction. And as this movement for popular rule develops a greater authority placed upon the people to rule and the authority is taken from the high places and put down into the hands of the very people themselves, it becomes necessary for more light, for more of the light of truth to dispel ignorance and to make everyone know exactly how to do.

The people in this day are demanding the right to control the corporations, to legislate, to enact laws, and in order to do that they must know, and this is a natural and inevitable result, this agitation for woman's suffrage, for equal and universal suffrage; it is a natural evolution of that kind of development.

Look at our American cities all over this land. Think of the corruption that exists and think of the fall-down that our Government has experienced in most of our American cities. I say to this committee that that would not have existed, that it would not have occurred, and that there would not have been the failure in government in our cities to the extent that it has come to pass if the

women, if the people had all been informed about how things were progressing.

Our Government is dependent upon some influence to maintain morality, our Government is dependent upon some influence to maintain intellectuality, and our Government is dependent upon some influence to maintain that physical force and strength of character that will make it strong, virile in all the tests that are to come.

I say that there is no influence that can be more potent in maintaining a healthy and strong, vigorous, physical force in our people than the influence of women. There is no influence in our home to maintain health and bring up the children and look out for the health of the city and sanitation of the city and of the home that compares with the influence of women. And so in the field of education certainly the influence and power of woman is demanded there, and her voice can be heard there and she can have influence in educational matters.

Then the moral features. There is no man who will arise and suggest that the influence of woman along moral lines is not toward the uplift. If the women of this country are once informed, as informed they will be when they get the right of suffrage, of the conditions in many of our cities, those conditions will be abated. [Applause.]

I say that as the city is developed, as the city is made clean, the Nation is made clean. It is true enough that our country influences may be strong, and the influence of the farmer and the influence of the rural districts is strong. But, after all, if the people, if the preachers and the teachers that go out from the cities to the country are not clean in purpose, if they have not back of them a moral sentiment that makes them ready to fight for the cause of truth, that makes them valiant soldiers in the cause of truth, if there is anything that causes them to be cowardly or to fear in attacking those things that are wrong, then the country is going to be subject to those very weaknesses, and there is nothing that will give a man that strength of character and that force and that willingness to valiantly fight that woman's backing and woman's courage will give.

Now, a word more. In our city of Seattle we have actually tried the matter out. We have actually put the matter to test. In that city, as you know, there are influences, as in every coast city, that are degrading, that are necessarily inclined to pull down. It is a city where many ships come and go, and the men of the sea are seen continually on the streets. It is a city that the men of Alaska make their home port to a great extent. There are many influences that would tend to tear down the moral tone of the community. But we have there such a sentiment and such a purpose to keep the city clean that if conditions that prevail in certain other cities were to prevail I am sure that the women would have out a recall petition before 24 hours. [Applause.]

I am just going to be a little practical before I sit down. If the women of Washington had the right to vote here in the city of Washington, do you suppose they would permit "men only" shows to operate on Pennsylvania Avenue? Do you suppose that the women would permit a show on the main avenue of this Capital city, which is so corrupt and filthy that women are not permitted to

go to it? There are two such shows conducted here. I give you that as an illustration of what is carried on over the land and what the women would overcome if they were permitted to vote. [Applause.]

I believe, along the lines of morality, along the lines of intellectuality, along the lines of physical healthy development and all things that go to make a strong government, that means something in the affairs of the Nation, that women's influence will help, and in order to get that influence into action you must not depend upon her position in the home, you must not depend upon her work with her children, but you must put that force, that virile force, that strength of woman's love and woman's heart and woman's ambition to do and to make into the statute books and enact it into legislation, and then we will get the best results. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. The next speaker I wish to present is Mrs. William Kent, of California, the wife of Representative Kent, of California. [Applause.] There is one interesting fact about women. They are always proud of being introduced as the wife of their husbands.

REMARKS OF MRS. WILLIAM KENT.

Mrs. KENT. And prouder still to think we voted for our husbands. [Applause.]

Dr. Shaw, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, woman suffrage has been on trial in California for a year and a half. It is manifestly unfair to ask how it has worked in California, as it would be to ask in the same spirit how manhood suffrage has worked in our well-governed or ill-governed municipalities.

As this country is committed to a democratic form of government, a government by the people, we maintain it is but the merest commonplace of consistency that women be given the vote. Denial of the voting right to women is a negation of our belief in democracy.

But equal suffrage has worked in California, and has worked welfare to the State. I am not going to point to any wonderful achievements, but I want to tell you how the women are taking this new responsibility.

The organizations that worked for suffrage have grown into civic leagues to study political questions and community needs. Several weekly papers and many bulletins are published to educate the new citizens, and a primer of citizenship has had a large sale.

These things show the open mind and the sense of obligation with which the women meet this new duty. Their education as housekeepers, home makers, and mothers has proved a valuable contribution in voting on questions of public welfare. Some of the subjects that are particularly engaging the attention of California women are a motherhood pension bill, considerations of dependent children, and the minimum wage law for women. It would seem self-evident that such questions should not be decided without the women's vote.

If the gift of the voting privilege has disrupted any homes there has been no evidence produced. Our California men are proud to vote with their mothers and wives. No one could claim that the women have shown divine intelligence in their votes, but the powers working toward the demoralization of our people are much less

arrogant than they were before women entered the polling booths. Without standing for prohibition, the women are standing against the forced extension of the liquor traffic, against that vicious practice of creating demand by forcing supply. [Applause.]

California women are hoping that you will submit a bill to Congress to enfranchise the women of the whole country. We hope the day is near when this country will have become truly a government by the people.

President Wilson, in his little book, The New Freedom, in the chapter called "Freemen need no guardians," says:

> I will not live under trustees if I can help it. * * * I do not care how wise, how patriotic the trustees may be, I have never heard of any group of men in whose hands I am willing to lodge the liberties of America in trust. If any part of our people want to have guardians put over them, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children, patronized by the Government, why, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America.

[Applause.]

President Wilson may not have been thinking of the women when he wrote this, but he makes an unanswerable plea for our participation in the government of our country.

We are "part of the people"; guardians are put over us; we are "patronized by the Government," whether we will or no. We ask that the women of all the States be not denied the privilege; we ask that they be granted the right to do their share toward realizing the wonderful democratic ideal which lies at the foundation of our Government. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. I have here the address of a lady who was to speak for us, Mrs. George Sutherland. She asked her address be included in the addresses of the morning without delivering it.

The CHAIRMAN. That privilege will be granted. We are sorry that the lady does not read it.

(The address is as follows:)

THE APPEAL OF POLITICS TO WOMAN.[1]

[By Rosamond Lee Sutherland.]

If there is truth in the theory that anything desired earnestly enough and sought with sufficient persistence in time becomes a fact, the friends of women's suffrage should take heart. We easily remember when only a few women espoused the cause. Now it has become an avalanche, crowded on by the thought force of millons—not of women alone, but of the most enlightened and level-headed men—the leading statesmen of the day, not only in America but the wide world over, penetrating even the ancient shadows of the Orient. Whether the ballot—a voice in the political organization—is necessary to the women of America may be reasonably disputed. To my mind, they are doing exceptionally well without it; but no man or woman cognizant of the facts and capable of giving serious consideration to them can reasonably deny that the voice, the mind, the influence of woman would be vastly helpful in the development, the preservation, and material advancement of our country. In other words, it is becoming more and more apparent that woman in America is essentially desirable as a factor in the field of political activity.

Why men, however ignorant or feeble-minded, just because they are men, should be credited with exclusively possessing a heaven-bestowed ability of governing, to which women, whatever their training or mentality, may never aspire, must forever remain one of the unexplained mysteries. That even men

[1] Reprinted from the North American Review.

are not all qualified for the ballot or entirely beyond criticism in its use might be suspected by the unregenerate from a perusal of the newspapers—say, at the time of the recent election in New York City, or any other large city, for that matter. When the ballot shall be given to women—as it is sure to be, sooner or later—is it thinkable that any of them will make worse use of it than some men are now doing? On the other hand, is it not quite possible—indeed, is it not probable—that there will be an improvement?

It has been argued adversely that to give the ballot to women would but double the vote without affecting the result, as most women would follow the party convictions of father or husband; but if danger of doubling the vote through a tendency to follow a husband's or father's footsteps is a valid objection to giving the franchise to women, then, as a general proposition, a man's sons should not be given a vote for the same reason. Our politics as well as our religion are, after all, largely matters of inheritance and environment, and if the objection is good there should be but one voter in a family—the head of the household. If death has removed the father, for example, the mother is, or should be, the head of the house and the property owner. Why should she not, then, be the one to cast the vote? It might really be a better plan than the present system, under which large property interests must often go wholly unrepresented, except on the tax list, until a son becomes of age.

The distinguished former minister of China, Mr. Wu Ting Fang, said in effect that he believed in equal suffrage for this country, because he had met so many educated and intellectual American women perfectly competent to exercise a voice in government, but he deplored the fact that it would be necessary to include so many ignorant and unintelligent women. What about the ignorant and unintelligent men who vote? Does that phase of the question trouble anybody? Well, incidentally we are arriving at a general impression that a qualified voter, regardless of sex, should be reasonably intelligent, should possess some education, perhaps be the owner of some property, and a citizen interested in good government. If these general qualifications were required by law no one need care whether the individual qualifying was a man or a woman, and who can deny that the ballot would be immeasurably elevated and purified thereby, even though capable women were to take advantage of the opportunity and vote. On the other hand, that the entire question, with all the grave responsibility involved, should be simply one of age and sex is unjust and absurd.

Coming as I do from a State which conferred the dignity of the ballot equally upon its men and women citizens at the time of its admission to the Union in 1896, I have seen some of the practical workings of the system, and I feel sure that the men of that State whose opinions are valuable will agree with me that it has been a success. Very nearly as great a percentage of women as of men exercise the privilege. The Australian ballot is used, and I venture to assert that the average woman votes quite as intelligently and often more conscientiously than the average man. Most men participate to some extent in political life, and they do so from motives as varied as their temperaments, many, of course, from a high desire to serve their State and country to the best of their ability. Others do a certain amount of perfunctory political work because it seems an obvious duty of citizenship, while altogether too many others exercise the right to vote without the slightest appreciation of the grave responsibilities involved. Women will enter the arena in the same serious, conscientious spirit with which they go about everything—their club life, for instance, which is solemn and earnest enough, Heaven knows. One woman by herself may be foolish and frivolous enough to please the most exacting man, but woman en masse is a different proposition. Let a number of women combine for any purpose—they rarely amuse themselves or accept events lightly, but usually proceed to make a life-and-death matter of everything. That very quality of earnest concentration might, however, prove a winning card in politics. Women possess, besides, qualities of patience and persistence to an alarming degree, as illustrated in this very struggle for a voice in their own affairs. It will never be necessary in this country to resort to the drastic militant methods of our English cousins. The women of America will win out by patience and persistence, rather than by the resort to more spectacular methods, and they will carry these characteristics with them when the gates they now assail are opened and they enter the political arena.

Long centuries of enforced devotion to small affairs have developed in woman a genius for detail; a quality in which men are often deficient, but a talent

obviously as desirable in governmental housekeeping as in the domestic household. Judge Grosscup, of Chicago, in a recent address to the Ossoli Club, the woman's auxiliary of the Highland Park Club, is reported to have said, among other uncomplimentary things about women, that they never could be successful in the manly professions, in which he includes scientific research, because these professions require so much attention to minutiæ, and, while declaring woman to be essentially a creature of detail, he deplored her inability to consider more than one detail at a time. Would it not be fairer to put the proposition the other way about—instead of condemning woman's inability to pay attention to more than one detail at a time, commend her ability to concentrate her mind upon one thing at a time, which has always been regarded as rather a valuable accomplishment? In the very professions in which he says women can never succeed, women have signally succeeded—who does not know of them except Judge Grosscup? And in many instances that genius for detail was the secret of success. He admits that he knew one successful woman lawyer, but that unfortunately, she began her career by throwing an ice pitcher at an offending judge. If she rounded out a successful career and only threw one ice pitcher at one judge, does it not speak well for the forbearance of the individual and of the sex? He neglects to enlighten us as to the character of the provocation or to furnish for comparison a list of the lawyers of the more self-contained sex who have been guilty of like turbulent conduct. Even in the austere halls of Congress great men have thrown things—epithets, books, canes, inkwells—at each other more than once or twice, as the Sergeant at Arms, who have removed the débris, can testify. Fights between men lawyers in our court rooms find passing reference in the local columns of the newspapers and are forgotten, but if one woman lawyer throws an ice pitcher at a judge—he was probably exasperating and deserved it—the incident goes down in history, not as the idiosyncrasy of an individual but as a black mark against the sex. Even in her restricted sphere woman's talents have wonderfully beautified and enriched the world, and they will continue to beautify and enrich increasingly as her field of usefulness broadens.

According to Prof. Heydeman, of London, women are morally, mentally, and physically inferior to men and but a shade in advance of the chimpanzee. (I trust the professor is an orphan and a bachelor.) Further, he predicts that the difference is certain to increase, because men are bound to progress while women will not. He says this is a law of evolution. It is a law hitherto unknown to science, that one half of the human family should continue on the spiral path of progress while the other half remains undeveloped. All his wonderful discoveries have been made by the simple method of measuring a few skulls and finding that, as a rule, the skulls of men measured more than those of women. He does not find it necessary to consider that men's bones are all larger, as a rule, than those of women, or that the matter of race might count. With all due respect to the learned professor with the tapemeasure, I have seen some very dull men with large heads. Individuals of the human race are supposed to inherit their traits of character, their tendencies—moral, mental, and physical—from their progenitors. This being true, is it not fair to imagine girls sometimes inheriting the mental strength of the father? It would be palpably absurd to say that girls inherit only the traits of their mothers or that all the best and most brilliant in a father was always the birthright of his son. Such a condition is not even approximately true, yet it would have to be wholly true to bear our Prof. Heydeman's theory of man's development. While heredity is much, environment is perhaps more. During the impressionable plastic years of childhood every boy as well as girl is under the direct management and influence of some woman and subject to the atmosphere and environment she provides. The great and good men of the world are eloquent witnesses of the tender wisdom which molded them and secured the environment necessary to their development. It is worthy of note, Prof. Heydeman, that when a boy goes wrong it is often said that he had the unfortunate example of a bad father before him; but when a great man is being eulogized the last word usually is, "He had a remarkable mother."

It has sometimes been suggested that it is not quite womanly for women to insist upon the right to vote, that women are too good for politics, that in some mysterious manner the exercise of the high and sovereign rights of citizenship at the ballot box is degrading. If women are too good for politics, it might not be altogether illogical to suspect that politics need bettering even for men; and, as "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," may it not be

just possible that, instead of women being brought down by contact with politics, politics might be lifted up a little by contact with women?

A recent article on the subject of equal suffrage objects to the ballot being given to women because of their inexperience. Is there any way but one to gain that experience? The stress laid upon this argument might almost cause the frivolous to smile. As sensibly might a mother say: "As soon as my daughter can play well enough I shall allow her to begin using the piano. Never having tried, she is yet too inexperienced." How did men gain their experience? This, in reality, is precisely what woman wants—what she is asking for—the opportunity to gain the necessary experience. The same writer suggests as a balm and a bit of good advice that if the high-born women of England and the influential women of America would use their influence and prestige in quietly cooperating with men to effect remedial legislation much good might be accomplished. Again, the opportunity to do just that is precisely what women are asking. Unaided and against opposition, or with faint encouragement, women have already secured many benefits to humanity through remedial legislation, or without it; but believing they can much more effectively cooperate with men, accomplish infinitely more for the race if standing upon an equal political footing, with a real voice and an effective vote, the "high-born and influential," or better, the earnest and intelligent women have determined that there is a place of greater usefulness for them in active politics to be satisfactorily filled by them only through the equal franchise. And is it not true? Are there not many ways in which the active voice, as well as the passive influence of women, is sadly needed in remedial legislation to-day? Does not the cause of working women need serious attention? Would not schools, hospitals, charitable institutions be better managed if women had a voice in their control? Men and women work shoulder to shoulder as teachers, clerks, and in countless capacities as wage earners, but the men almost invariably receive better salaries, not because they do better work or are more trustworthy, but simply because they are men, which is unjust, illogical, and all wrong. In the State of Utah, for example, where women have a right to vote, there is a statute requiring that women teachers in the public schools shall receive the same salaries as men teachers when of equal grade and standing. The crying evil of child labor would surely be eradicated were women instrumental in making and enforcing the laws. The fact that children from 6 years old and upward are allowed to work in cotton mills, that young boys spend their childhood in glass factories and coal mines, to be mentally and physically crippled and remain undeveloped, is a horrible blot on our national escutcheon. No cry of suffering childhood can pass a woman's heart unheeded. To safeguard the children is to insure the Nation's future, but the protection and relief of children is a detail in the scheme of government which men often seem to avoid. The evils of child labor have been discussed on the floor of the Senate and in the press, but little has come of it. The making of tariff laws, the building of the Panama Canal, the regulation of railways, the establishment and opening of waterways, all matters of importance in themselves, absorb the attention of our legislators, while the welfare of thousands of helpless children, their health, their very lives seem little things altogether too readily overlooked or ignored. Men know but do not always seem to appreciate the vital fact that the children of to-day are the men of to-morrow. In developing and realizing the mighty dream of perpetual international peace woman's voice is needed, and her active instead of passive cooperation would be productive of incalculable good. Men can not realize as women do, through generations of effort from their obscured position, how hampered is their every word and act by their political inferiority. The wonder is that they have kept their courage and accomplished so much already without the recognition which they manifestly deserve.

Men have played a lone hand at government since the dawn of time. Since the days when they clubbed their mates and dragged them to their caves by their hair up to the still chaotic and imperfect conditions of to-day, with unsolved problems, with bad laws on some subjects and no laws on others, men have needed help, and they still need it. This help the women are now proffering, and wise men are recognizing the wisdom of accepting it.

To me the idea of the dominance of either sex is thoroughly repugnant. I deplore beyond expression the thought, too often advanced, that women desire to usurp the prerogatives of men. The fairness of women to men is as important as the fairness of men to women. Neither man nor woman should be thought of as superior. They are simply different. One is the complement of

the other, and it takes both to compass successfully, symmetrically, and perfectly the situations and problems of life. Men and women can not work together successfully for the good of the world so long as man insists upon standing on a pedestal of his own construction and keeping woman an appreciable step below him. But swift changes are taking place.

The emancipation of woman is a natural evolution which can no more be stopped than the tides of the sea. It is a thought force sweeping the world. The women of Denmark and Sweden, France, England, and Canada are making determined efforts for recognition. President Falliere, of France, in a speech at Paris, October 30, said that he hoped himself to see equality between the sexes fully realized; that he believed women should be on an equality with men in actual life, with the same laws for both. The women of New Zealand vote, and have done so for years, but are beautifully feminine nevertheless; they seldom speak at political meetings, but do no end of political work among themselves and in winning over doubtful voters. Lady Ward, wife of the premier, says that, though the women are intensely interested and well informed upon all political propositions, they are exceptionally feminine, and the homes of New Zealand are ideally domestic. President Taft, in a recent speech in Alabama, said that he would advocate woman's suffrage when all women wanted it. We must persuade him to go a little further than that, for the condition is obviously impossible. Why should we depart in this instance alone from the time-honored maxim that the majority rules? It is urged that all women do not want the ballot and would not use it were it granted. That, of course, is true. Not all the slaves of the South were able to comprehend emancipation, not all of them wanted it, and some remained voluntary slaves to the hour of death, but that did not affect the principle. Many men also fail to appreciate the duties and privileges of citizenship and do not vote. They are drones in the political hive. Some women might also be in the same class. But that does not affect the real question.

We are told that women have other duties. True. So have men, quite as exacting and necessary; for while woman is the home maker, man is the wage earner. Of the two perhaps there are more women to-day not vitally bound by domestic ties, but free to live their lives as they will, than there are men free from similar demands; and I see no good reason why their country should be deprived of their help solely because they are women. It is not many years ago that even here in America it was devoutly believed that only the boys of the family should be educated; that girls must simply be trained to the drudgery of the household. But the world does move and woman has ceased to be an automaton. Every day she is becoming a more important factor in the world's work. The gates ajar must be swinging wide indeed since the Royal College of Surgeons in England announces that from January 1 next it will admit women to examinations. One by one the barriers are breaking; and in some near day we shall have reached, through experience, a sane and civilized idea of the value of cooperation of the sexes in all questions of business and political economy. Our children's children will look back with wonder to the time when their mothers had to struggle and plead for justice and fair treatment from the men of their day.

Even so recently as in Jane Austin's time it was considered indelicate for a woman to write a book. Her position in the journalistic field to-day speaks for itself. But in all this struggle for emancipation one pregnant fact appears: Every step has been a step forward. No advantage gained has ever been relinquished. Woman is everywhere to-day in all the arts, the sciences, and the professions; and her activities in every field of endeavor wonderfully illustrate her power and flexibility of mind and suggest that all that is needed for her ultimate success in whatever she elects to do is opportunity. *The opportunity.*

I am not a member of any suffrage association, but I had the honor to be asked by my home State to represent such an organization a year or so ago when a plea was being made by women for a constitutional amendment before the Senate committee whose *duty* it was to listen. The States were represented by carefully selected women; no one could for a moment have entertained any question of their equality in every way with the men they addressed. Yet these solemn solons only "permitted" a limited number of the women to make their little speeches, to which they listened with an air of bored resignation, although the remarks were so bright, concise, even eloquent, and so unanswerably logical that men accustomed to listening from day to day to speeches made in the Senate Chamber might at least have shown a slight appreciation. It was

a sight to wring tears from the gods to see such brilliant, educated, cultivated women pleading with those men for the privilege of standing on the same plane with them, begging to be allowed an equal voice in the management of their own country with the ignorant riffraff of foreign nations scarcely able to read or write or speak the language—or any language. Of course, the committee had no idea of taking any action in the matter, and when the allotted time was over it rose as one man and solemnly filed back into the Senate Chamber without a word.

At the same time when this committee was in session in the Senate marble room a similar committee of the lower House was giving a hearing in the south wing of the Capitol on the same subject. Before this committee a bright little lady from Louisiana was presenting the views of the women of her State. In the course of her remarks she referred to the four States which had already conferred the ballot upon women. She was promptly interrupted by a member of the committee, who asked that she would "please confine herself to facts," and assured her that no State had as yet committed the folly of which she spoke! *This* from a Member of Congress, who evidently intended to use his vote and influence to withhold the franchise from women because they do not know enough to vote. *This* from a man considered sufficiently intelligent and well informed to be elected to Congress to pass upon all national problems, and who doubtless felt and still feels ably qualified to decide the question of woman's inferiority. He actually did not know a fact of such political importance as that women were admitted to equal suffrage in Wyoming in 1869, in Colorado in 1893, in Idaho and Utah in 1896.

The demand for suffrage is not sectional. It has its adherents in every State and probably in every town in the Union. Even our conservative and clinging sisters of the South are flocking to the standard. Nor is there any class distinction. The cause is equally dear to the heart of the woman of wealth, the leader in exclusive society, the professional woman, and the shop girl. It is no longer true that a woman is looked upon as idle, eccentric, or a faddist if she declares herself an adherent of the cause. The vital strength of the movement is that the intelligent, educated, refined, home-loving women of America are behind it. That is the reason it must and will succeed.

Some excited utterances of the less rational have given the very false impression that woman has an ultimate desire to dominate and assume the reins of government. This I know to be far from the truth. Few of those who give real strength to the movement have any sympathy with the methods of the "shrieking sisterhood." Woman is instinctively a home maker, and where it is possible that is the life she chooses. But that vocation does not prevent her paying taxes if she has property. It does not exempt her from answering to the law if she commit a crime. It should not prevent her from taking an interest in the election of proper persons to make the laws she advocates and enforce them.

We are quite accustomed to having our grandmothers and their domestic perfections thrown at us as samples of what woman and woman's life should be. Incidentally I want to say that they probably had a very dull time of it, and so did our grandfathers. How, with all the wearisome, monotonous drudgery required of them, and little else in their gray lives, they ever survived long enough to become our gradmothers I can not understand. They could and did spin, weave, knit, and make all the apparel for the family. They had to prepare, preserve, and cook all of the food and keep the larders and cellars stocked for summer and winter consumption. They were expected to wash, iron, and churn, and perhaps give the younger children a few daily lessons. For recreation they worked precious samplers with colored wools.

It is not the same Moloch of a world to-day which our grandmothers knew. We can buy our children's clothes infinitely better, prettier, and cheaper than we can make them, not counting the cost of time and eyesight. We no longer stock our larders with a season's supply of comestibles of our own preparation. We have better methods of doing things to-day. Modern machinery has done inestimable service in releasing women from the treadmill of household labor. Grandmother's accomplishments would count for little even if one possessed them all. Even the cherished samplers have lost their charm.

The modern home maker finds that with the aid of gas, electricity, the telephone, steam laundries, public markets, and the thousand conveniences of modern life, her household machinery moves easily and rapidly, with a minimum of exertion to herself; so that with John's dinner ordered, the children safely off to school, she has plenty of time to read, to see her friends, attend her

clubs—to study politics and vote, if she has the opportunity—and still do vastly better home making than grandmother ever dreamed of doing.

It is just possible that if political equality had been ours from the beginning in this country, without the long and bitter struggle for it, we might have prized it less keenly. So all the more for the effort, when it comes—and it is so right that it must come—suffrage will be held a dearer privilege and more sacred possession by the women of America than it ever has been or ever can be by the men born to the purple. It is because the women of America are loyal and patriotic citizens; because they know the necessity of having good men in office; because they want good schools and the children protected from every evil, that they may become good citizens in the future; because they believe that they can do infinitely more toward attaining these things if they stand on the same plane with their husbands and brothers, with the same interests and hopes, that they are asking to be treated like reasonable human beings and given the ballot.

No one claims that *all* women are thoroughly conscientious or that their judgment would never be at fault. Neither do I think that all women would be benefited by the privilege of the ballot. I do not think that all men vote honestly or that all men should have a vote. Yet they *do* have it, to the exclusion of women, a great majority of whom are thoroughly worthy and capable. I do think that women to-day have as much spare time as men have to devote to affairs of state; that they are as much interested, quite as patriotic, and have as much genius for citizenship. It is possible that in time men might have to look to their laurels, but that would rest with themselves. All woman wants is the force of the ballot to put the proper men in places of power. The tremendous impetus which the power of combined thought and purpose has given to the movement in America means victory. The very energy and volubility of detractors show it. Everything indicates that its opponents are weakening and that the fight against equal suffrage is obsolescent.

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

Dr. SHAW. I wish to next introduce as a speaker Mrs. Philander Claxton, of Tennessee. We come from the South as well as from the North and the West. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF MRS. PHILANDER CLAXTON, OF TENNESSEE.

Mrs. CLAXTON. I do not come here to pretend that I represent all of the best women of the South, but I say that I do come representing some of the best women of the South. There is an idea abroad in the land that our good, strong, fine, wholesome women of the South are not for woman suffrage. That is not true. All of the women whom I know in Tennessee and Alabama and Georgia are women who represent what you gentlemen and ladies would call the good class of women—strong, fine women, who are trying to do things for the uplift and the betterment of the people at large and for their families. [Applause.]

So, some of the best women are for woman suffrage. Women of the South proved their worthiness to have responsibility placed upon their shoulders more than a half century ago, during and after the Civil War. Many of them were left homeless, or, rather, with only very poor homes. Many of them were left not knowing how to make a living, because they had not had to do it before. But they showed their strength and courage by rising out of the ashes, and in many instances maintaining a husband who had been wounded in the war, caring for the children and making over a real home, and making what is better, a splendid citizenship now in the Southland. [Applause.]

Men of the South will tell you to-day—any man, it matters not what his position may be, whether he is a legislator or a laborer—that the women bore, well, I may almost say, the real burden after the Civil War. And they showed their courage, and they have come out of it. So that if they were able to bear that and did it uncomplainingly and happily and graciously, they are also able to bear other burdens and help the men of the South in other ways, help them in the citizenship, for, after all, citizenship is just a great big housekeeping proposition. And the women now are proving that they are capable of that in our towns in the Southland. They have formed clubs among themselves—civic clubs. They have formed associations for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, which disease was killing so many thousands of our southern people. They have formed other kinds of associations for the prevention of the white-slave traffic and other things which are festering our country. These women have gone on gradually and slowly, and yet they are making themselves noted for their work among us there.

There are just two things that impress me most about this subject in the South. The women have no fight with the men. They want to work with them hand in hand. They want to be their helpmeets, their companions in all of the work that they are doing.

None of the women to whom I have talked have any faith in a militant way to get this great suffrage problem through. They do not want any fight with the men, who are their partners and whom they want to help. They simply want to be companions with them. And one other thing: The woman's work is peculiarly her own and woman is the great conservator. You men are the ones who create. Women are the conservators of the great influence and the best influence of the world. Then, let the conservators and the creators walk hand in hand, working into each others hands in the work. [Applause.]

A woman's work, as I said, is peculiarly her own. She can do things that men can not do. Men can do things that she can not do. But that does not signify that each form of work is not of equal value to the other, and that, above everything, is what the woman wants, her work to be placed on an equality with that of the man, not necessarily the same work, but of equal value to the country. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. The next speaker is Mr. Gifford Pinchot, who has been our good friend for a long time.

REMARKS OF MR. GIFFORD PINCHOT.

Mr. PINCHOT. Dr. Shaw, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, I have only a very short statement to make. It is substantially this: That the fundamental task of any generation, as I see it, from the long distance point of view, from the point of view of the welfare of the Nation through the coming centuries, is to leave this country a better place for people to live and work in then it was during the generation before. Our big task is to make this country a better place for our children than it has been for us. That is the fundamental thing.

Now, in order to do that, the one greatest power that we can bring to our help is the educative power of the mother over the child—over the son or over the daughter. We have got to make good citizens out of the next generation if this is to be a good country. [Applause.]

And there is no other way, to my mind, that compares in its power and effectiveness in the making of good citizens as to have the mother know what good citizenship is and impart that to her son or her daughter. [Applause.]

In other words, to make good citizens of the mothers is the most effective way of making good citizens of the children. [Applause.] And in order to make the mothers good citizens, just as in any other kind of work, there is nothing like giving them the responsibility of being good citizens.

For that reason, because of the effect that it will have on the future welfare of the country, it seems to me that woman suffrage is an absolutely essential thing. Of course, we all know that it is coming anyhow. [Applause.] It is only a question of how soon it is coming and in what way.

I have come simply to add my word from the conservation point of view, that the best thing we can do for the future of the country along the lines of good citizenship is to make good citizens out of the mothers before we try to make good citizens out of the children. [Applause.] I thank you.

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, we were all sure that a man interested in conserving the forests and the rivers and the interests of the country could not fail to recognize the value of conserving the strength and power of the womanhood and childhood of the Nation.

Our next speaker is a lady from New York, Mrs. Helen Boswell.

REMARKS OF MRS. HELEN BOSWELL, OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. BOSWELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I should like to take up just the word that Mr. Pinchot has left with us as to the mothers and citizenship and all that. Of course, we always hear so much about the mothers here and that woman's sphere is the home, and it is right perhaps that the mothers should think first, last, and all the time on the most of those questions. Yet there are hundreds of us single women without the actuality of motherhood, but who have the mother heart and the mother desire that the children of the next generation shall be the best exposition of citizenship possible, and that we, too, shall have a hand in forming conditions that will make that possible. [Applause.]

If the mother can not follow her child into the school and into the business opportunities that comes to it by making better the conditions, then her sphere in the home and all the influence she has done in the home have gone for naught. She may keep everything as well as it is possible to have it kept in the home, to preserve the health and the morals of her child, but if she can not have a say into the conditions, into the school in which she sends that child, into the conditions that will surround it in the working world, then really her work will have been in vain in the home.

The mother's sphere is not the four walls of the home. The sphere of the mother heart of womanhood of the country is the country and is only bounded by what bounds the country. [Applause.]

Perhaps a little more than any of the other speakers of the day I may be looked on as a general clubwoman, belonging to many

organizations, and interested in furthering the work of many organizations. If organizations, if the great clubs of the country together federated in various ways have taught us anything, if we have learned one great lesson, it is that we should be direct in our methods; we have learned that we must be direct; and we have also learned that to do all those things which we hope most from and know must be worked out in this evolution of our Government we must have the direct method that you have so long exercised—the ballot. [Applause.]

That is why, one of the reasons why, we feel so strongly on the subject of having to go around all the time, and sometimes I think it is very shortsighted, more than shortsighted, of the men who need our help. There is not a confederated body of any kind in any State to which the men who have legislation in charge do not come for help. There is no bill brought up in any State legislature or in the United States Legislature but that some one of its backers sends out to the women organizations of the country asking their help for it, to push the measure through.

You appreciate and think much of our influence in that way, that we can help you push through some measure; but think how quickly we could help you with the direct way: [Applause.]

Really, for a long time and until recently, I had felt and said that the suffrage would come by States, as it has come. But now I see that the real way to get it most directly, the most direct method to do the direct thing, is by having Federal legislation on the subject.

And so I am glad to come and say a word in this appeal that is brought before you to-day from the representatives of the women all over the country, for I see everywhere I go, gentlemen, the vast majority of the women in organizations, who have traveled along the road from self-culture to public service, asking this thing that will give them the power in performing the highest public service.

And when we get it—and Mr. Pinchot says it is coming, and we know it, and it has come in many places—we will see, and it is proven in those places in which it has come, that no class who have ever asked or received the suffrage are better fitted for its exercise than the women of America, because we have for so long been educating ourselves in this, emerging from the little self-culture to the public-service idea.

We are for service for the country. We are, as the lady from Tennessee said, only asking to do equal service with the men, who have done so much for the country. But we want to help in the further development, in the only way in which we best can, and I think it so encouraging to the men of the country who always want in their own State, in their own precinct, the largest possible vote cast, that in those States where woman suffrage obtains men have voted in so much larger numbers. Is not that so, Dr. Shaw, as a matter of fact? I have so understood, that the man vote rises.

Dr. Shaw. The proportionate vote is greater; yes.

Mrs. Boswell. Yes; the proportion of the vote is larger. It is a good thing. It is encouraging for the gentlemen to appear. And then other people no doubt will make the plea, that having long been interested, especially in industrial matters, those of us who are pleading speak for the women who have not the time to come here and plead. There is the woman who works every day in the shop, in the

factory, and can not get off to come here and plead before you, who must delegate her wishes and her duties in that respect to us. It is the working woman, gentlemen, who does so badly need the protection of the ballot. It seems almost impossible that they shall get what is so necessary for the development of the next generation—for they are the mothers of the next generation—without this.

There are hundreds of thousands of women who are earning their living, as you know, in all the industries and who also have families to support, people to look after. Of course you know that old story of the teacher who asked the little boy who supported the world, and the little boy said "Atlas." And she asked who supported Atlas and he replied, "Why, I suppose his wife." [Laughter.]

The woman is always supporting somebody in the family. And so they need this, those who have the support, those who have to look after all the dependent members of a family, sometimes depending upon the one woman. They, they are the ones who cry aloud for this thing which shall bring to them an added opportunity.

But it is not only the added opportunity for the woman that we ask it, but because of the woman's rights, when it comes to her making the greatest opportunity of the child of the next generation.

So while we know that it is coming, and coming by States, we ask that it be brought to us the sooner, that there be a standardization, so we shall in all the States be equal in our use of the franchise, in the development of our country. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Our next speaker is Mrs. Helen Gardener, of the city of Washington, the writer and author of whom you know.

REMARKS OF MRS. HELEN H. GARDENER.

Mrs. GARDENER. In a very remarkable article written recently by that distinguished Democrat, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, in speaking of the founders of this Nation, he said:

> On the one hand were the Democratic Republicans, who believe both in the letter and in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, who were convinced that a new order of things was both advisable and advantageous; that the old established systems of government by a superior class were failures, and that government by all the people was not only the most just and righteous, but the most practical and the most successful form of government that could be devised.

Did he mean it? Government by all of the people, and that there should be no class? Did this distinguished Democrat mean just that? That that is the only righteous form of government? And, then, are women people?

Have words a par value or are they merely hereditary forms of speech?

In speaking before a great patriotic body of women last week here in Washington our silver-tongued Secretary of State, the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, used these words:

> We established an independent nation in order that men might enjoy a new kind of happiness and a new kind of dignity. That kind which a man has when he respects every other man and woman's individuality as he respects his own; where he is not willing to draw distinctions between classes; where he is not willing to shut the door of privilege in the face of anyone.

Now, we are certainly "anyone," whether we are people or citizens, or not. He demands the kind of dignity that respects every other

man's and woman's individuality as he respects his own. Did he mean it?

Again he said before this same distinguished body of patriotic women, of whom I was one:

> The problems are different, but the principles are the same. Turn back to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and apply the principles found in them to our modern questions.
>
> This spirit must lead you to work for the preservation to each individual of his inalienable rights and to keep this a Government of the people, for the people, by the people. You must throw your influence on the side of the people in their struggle for liberty. Then, and then only, will you be true Daughters of the American Revolution.

Now, are women individuals? Are they people? Did the Secretary of State really mean those words at their par value? I hope that he did.

The arguments against woman suffrage are, in point of fact, always in the ultimate analysis simply arguments against self-government. They are in the ultimate analysis based on opposition to our form of government. They are the arguments which have been used by king to serf in all the ages past, with woman now the disqualified unit instead of labor or poverty or any other "lower class."

If government is to rest upon suffrage at all—that is, upon the expressed will of anybody not a "king by divine right"—who is to decide that you are born with that divine right to vote, to express yourself in civic affairs, and that I am not?

When and how did you get the right and where and how did I lose it? [Applause.]

That always puzzles me. I can not remember when I lost it. How did one type of human units get the right to decide that another type of human units shall not have liberty of conscience and expression? I never could understand that. If it is a divine right, what particular streak of divinity has been discovered in man that women lack? [Laughter and applause.]

If it is not a natural, inherent, human right, then they say it is a "conferred privilege." Now, who conferred it? On what basis did they confer it, and where did they get it to confer? [Applause.]

Has the supply run out? Is not special privilege in government, in the final analysis, simply a wrong and an outrage against which people have been fighting since history began? Kings claim to be born with this divine right. The founders of our government scouted the idea—for kings, but not for men. They announced to the world that we are born "free and equal," and that all just government is based upon the consent of the governed. They said—and both our President and Secretary of State said to us the other day in this patriotic organization of women—that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. I hope that they realized, even when they were saying it, that it was only a glittering form of speech. I hope that they realized that it is in fact a government of all of the people by a half of the people for a few of the people.

I hope that they realize that the Democratic Party now has the most wonderful opportunities that any party ever had since the beginning of time [applause]; an opportunity to make that great glittering generality a fact instead of a fiction.

I hope that they realized that fact while they were talking to the ladies, and that they realized that the ladies were people.

Again—Mrs. Kent has stolen my thunder, but I want to point a moral here and so I am going to quote it again—President Wilson recently said this:

> As for other men setting up as a Providence over myself, I seriously object. I will not live under trustees if I can help it. If any part of our people want to be wards; if they want to have guardians put over them; if they want to be taken care of; if they want to be children patronized by the Government; why I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America.

There never was a truer thing written than that. [Applause.] And it has already sapped the womanhood of America to such an extent that there are women willing to travel around the country telling other women that their place is at home [laughter and applause]; that they ought to stay inside of four walls, where guardians and trustees will keep them in perpetual tutelage, and take care of them like children, and they should not even want the ability to express themselves in their own government. [Laughter and applause.]

These traveling ladies, who insist that woman's place is the home, asserted just the other day, here in Washington, that this movement of ours is one of sex antagonism. They asserted it is conducted by a few disgruntled old maids. Now, the fact is that most of us are married and have been married a long time, and we like men so well that we want to help them make the world a better place to live in. We do not believe in throwing upon our husbands and brothers all of our burdens just as soon as those burdens and responsibilities pass beyond the front door or the back gate.

Was it "sex antagonism" that made President Wilson object to having guardians set over him? Let us use a little common sense and a little common honesty in dealing with these questions that are basically as old as time—the question of human rights; the question of equality before the law; the question of self-government. I should think men would be ashamed to accept opportunities, rights, and privileges which they are unwilling to share with their mothers and sisters and wives. I am glad that these gentlemen here are ashamed of it.

Another point: I insist that you have no right to ask just what woman is going to do with her vote when she gets it. [Applause.]

That question is always based on two assumptions. First, that man has a right to dictate to her, to control her vote and make her vote the way he wants her to; and the other is that she most likely is going to vote either like a knave or a fool, that she will be prone to use her vote with bad results.

Nobody assumes that attitude when extending the franchise to the young men as they become of age. Nobody insists that boys of 21 shall show how wisely and for just what reform measures they are going to vote before they are given the ballot. The callow youth whom probably his mother has educated and sent to school and sent out in the world is not asked to mortgage his vote before he gets it to prove that he will use it to please somebody else. Now, why should women be asked or required to prove that they are not going to vote unwisely? Are they more corrupt or more foolish than their 21-year-old sons?

The question of what measures women will or will not vote for is quite aside from the issue—which is simply and solely that of self-government. Have women the right of self-government in a republic? If not, why not? [Applause.]

But for the sake of the argument, and to reply to those who have been saying so much about woman's place being inside the home, I will take up just that one item. I will leave out the women who have no homes. I will leave out the women who have no children. I will talk of the mother and her child.

When the mother's sense of responsibility and her power of supervision shall no longer end at the front door or at the back gate, childhood will have gained its most powerful protector and vice will have withdrawn farther from the family altar.

Nor is it vice alone which she will be better able to keep out of her own special home nest. She will be better able to guard her children against dirt that is dangerous and disease that is fatal.

It is not fair to throw this entire burden on the men of the world—the fathers of those children. They are too busy making the money with which to buy. They are too much occupied with the products of factory and farm to stop to examine too closely the details of their construction, the ethics of their surroundings.

Women have no right to shirk their share of the public duty. They have no right to turn their little children out into the streets, schools, churches, theaters—into a world, in short, which they are too timid or too lazy to want to help to make fit for those children to live in. I have little patience with the shrinking sisterhood opposed to woman suffrage when they insist that they do not want civic duties thrust upon them. They do not want to vote against the powers that make for bad conditions for their children or for their neighbors' children. And, since they do not want these things, they insist that women who have developed a civic conscience shall not be allowed to use it. They do not want the burden of helping the fathers to rid political and social life of the wrongs and vices and dangers that beset the developing boy and girl at every step the moment they pass outside the walls of home.

They do not want to help make the world a better and safer place for children to live in. They object to the heavy, added burden of care and responsibility. They want to just stay at home "and nurse the little ones and care for the ailing."

Is not that beginning at the wrong end? Is it not simply holding to the old idea of letting ignorance and wrong, dirt and crime, do their worst with the individual, and then undertaking to provide a cure for the individual and a palliative for the community?

The ideal of a passive womanhood acting as the nurse of a diseased and cirppled, a wronged and vicious race was once the best ideal that mankind had attained.

To-day we believe in and work for prevention rather than for cure.

Don't let the contagion spread in order to allow the inert and timid ladies to display their fine qualities as nurses and reformers. The price is too great to pay even for the luxury of laziness, the willingness to shirk responsibility.

Let us begin at the beginning.

Let us study the conditions that create the social and physical and political disorders, and then spend our time, skill, strength, and

ability in helping to cut out the root of the wrong and disorder rather than permit that root to develop, that we may later on pluck off the apples of discord while we hold man responsible for it all.

Women, also, are responsible. No woman can be an ideal mother unless she is willing—unless she insists upon—following her child outside the home; unless she insists upon knowing and helping to better the conditions and surroundings and employments and amusements and in forming the ideals of that child in his life out in the world.

Women have no right to bring children into this world unless they are brave enough and sane enough and thoughtful enough, and unless they are willing to be helpful and try to make of the world itself a fit place for little children to live in, to grow up in, to be safe in.

One can have little patience with people who say that women have no business to know or to do things "outside the home," that "public affairs are not for women."

What is outside of her home?

Surely not the food her children eat. Shall she have no knowledge of its purity, of the places and the conditions from which it came? Shall she not know whether it is filled with impurity and disease? Shall she not know that the price she pays for it is the premium on dishonesty of method or of principle? Is it not her business to help to correct these things?

What is outside her home?

Surely not the clothes her children wear, made, perhaps, in disease and crime-breeding sweatshops or in factories where the very life blood of other little children whose mothers are ignorant or vicious, or only poor, stay inside their homes while their little ones go out into a man-made, man-governed, man-thinking world to be ground under the wheel of ignorance and greed. Surely the courts of law—upon which the whole structure of life for her and hers must rest—none of these are "outside the home," except to women who are so blind that they will not see.

These are all subjects that are of vital interest to women, to mothers of little children—to those who have dared to bring them into a world with which they are not equipped to contend.

It is for mothers to equip themselves to stand first for, and then with, these children in facing conditions which women are almost as much to blame in allowing to be wrong as are the men upon whom they try to cast the entire burden. Women should stop shirking their civic and political duties. Stop saying these are no concern of theirs.

If women are not strong enough to cope with life's problems they are utterly and hopelessly unfit to bring children into these conditions. They must face their responsibilities.

And upon what do all these things rest—in the ultimate analysis?

In a republic they rest on the ballot.

If women want clean, wholesome, properly priced food they must have the power to vote for—and hence to command—the men who control the food supplies of their cities.

If they want to eliminate diphtheria germs and tuberculosis, and worse, from the very clothes they buy they must have the ballot and the willingness to use it to secure factory conditions that shall cease to take the steady toll of blood from one class to coin it into gold

for another class, while it passes on to them and theirs, in the form of disease and death, and claims, even from my languid lady who is not "interested in anything outside her home," the very lives of those whom she loves.

But does she love those whom she will not strive to protect? Or does she love only her own ease and to have her own way, which shall conform to the fixed ideals of the past?

Does not a real, a fine, a true love for child or friend or country involve the sincere passion for service which shall know no hampering lines of home or sex, but which shall claim, demand, and secure the right and the glorious privilege to give of time, of thought, of effort for the betterment of all, the happiness of all, the safety of all, whether those human units chance to be within or without the walls she calls home? Whether they are within or without the city that is hers, whether they are under or beyond the flag of her country

A good mother will not desert her child just when he needs her most. Just when he goes out into the world that is unknown ground to him as well as to her. She will stand with his father in helping that child to find the better way. She has no right to desert her post now. She is still his mother. She can not shut herself in and live to herself alone.

Cooperation is the law of progress, and humanity is a unit with interests and aims indivisible. [Applause.]

ARGUMENT OF DR. ANNA H. SHAW.

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the ladies and gentlemen who have addressed you this morning have spoken principally on the basis of expediency—all with the exception of Mrs. Gardener.

The time seems to have gone by when we should argue our question from the standpoint of democracy; but I am going to speak of it for a few moments on that basis.

Reference has been made to the President of the United States and the book which he has written. Some one has said "Oh that my enemy would write a book," but President Wilson is not the enemy of women, nor is he the enemy of any man. Neither is the Secretary of State. No men have ever uttered more clearly or more perfectly the principles of democracy than have both of these leaders of present day democracy.

Then, we might reasonably ask, since Mr. Wilson has written that book so full of Democratic statements, and Mr. Bryan has lectured for years along Democratic lines, why neither of them have taken a stand for the enfranchisement of the women of this country. I think the reason they have not taken a stand for woman's enfarnchisement is exactly the same as that which has kept so many other excellent men from taking a similar stand; it is simply because their point of view is limited by tradition and custom. I doubt very much whether Mr. Wilson thought of women when he wrote his book. He was thinking of democracy. I doubt if Mr. Bryan, even in addressing the women of the Daughters of the American Revolution, thought of women while addressing them. He was thinking of democracy. In thinking of democracy men have connected the idea of democracy with men only and not with women.

Now, it is a fearful thing, a humiliating thing, to belong to a class of people whom men can forget when speaking of fundamental principles, but it is an awful thing to belong to a class of people who when men have forgotten you they do not know they have forgotten anything. [Applause.]

That is exactly where women stand to-day. These gentlemen think of women, as many excellent men do, as the wives, the sisters, and the daughters of men, and in their thought of legislation they do not think of us as separated from themselves and their interests. So they say of us in legislation just as they say of us in the family life, "We take care of them; we look after their interests; their interests are safe in our hands." And, consequently, instead of absolutely taking a position against us on the ground of sex antagonism, as it is claimed, they take a position against us on the ground of sex guardianship.

If these gentlemen would divest themselves for one moment of the thought that women are related to them and other men, if they could think of women as they think of each other, as distinct human beings, with all the rights and privileges and desires and hopes and aspirations of human beings, then I doubt very much whether either of these two excellent gentlemen who are fundamentally right in their attitude toward great moral questions, could ever again utter a democratic principle without recognizing its application to the womanhood of the nation.

And that is where we women have lost all along, not by the antagonism of men, but by the guardianship of men. The idea that we are under tutelage, that we are taken care of, that a woman who works 16 hours a day is supported. [Applause.] That women contribute nothing to the general good, that they have done nothing toward the upbuilding of the Nation. They minimize woman's work, because it is not paid work, because it has been free work in the past. They estimate it upon the same basis that we estimate slave labor, and always will. Free labor is slave labor and slave labor is not supposed to add anything to the general good or to prosperity. [Applause.]

Consequently, men thinking of women in that light have failed to recognize the injustice of our position.

We have come to you to-day, representing as you do the Democratic administration, to call you back from the guardianship idea to the Democratic idea, and to demand that you recognize us as human beings, and then that you apply to women the fundamental principles of Democracy which you have applied to yourselves. I am sure that not only would the gentlemen of this committee but the gentlemen of the Senate and of the whole United States Congress and the leading men and good men of this country, of whom there are a very large majority over evil men, would see the justice of our cause, and grant our demand, which is purely a democratic demand.

As one of the ladies said, we do not wish to advocate our measure on the basis of mere expediency. I would be in favor of woman suffrage if it did nothing but harm [applause], because I believe that it is better for a government to know the conditions which prevail in the thought and life of the people. than it is for them to be ignorant of existing conditions [applause], and if all the centuries

of the education which has been given to women has not developed in them either patriotism for their country or loyalty to their home or devotion to their family, then could there be a better argument in favor of woman suffrage than that we should give them an education based upon an altogether different basis, and teach them to recognize their human relation and their human responsibilities?

If the old-time education has not broadened and developed women, then give them a new-time education which will broaden and develop them. [Applause.]

If it has not developed out of them all the old-time barbaric savagry and immoralities and frailties which belong to primitive life, then give them a different education, that they may be evolved out of them.

There is no person whose attitude is so incomprehensible as that of a Democrat or a daughter of the American Revolution, either of whom is opposed to democracy. I can not understand the Democrat who is opposed to democracy. I can not understand a daughter of the American Revolution who is opposed to the enfranchisement of women, who glories in the death of an ancestor who died for the principle of no taxation without representation. I can not understand the inconsistency. I was met by one of these daughters once who asked me why I spent all my time in the furtherance of the woman-suffrage movement and why I did not join their society. She said, "Were not your ancestors in the Revolution?" I replied they were, and I added, "And they fought hard, but they fought on the wrong side." She said, "I am so sorry for you." I replied, "You need not be; I am not a bit sorry for myself." "Why," she exclaimed, "are you not sorry that your ancestors were on the wrong side?" I have had such a hard time getting on the right side and keeping there I have had no time to worry over my great-grandfather. [Applause and laughter.]

I added, "It does not matter half so much to me where my grandfather stood as where I stand [applause], and the difference between you and me, my dear friend, is that you stand where my great-grandfather stood, and I stand where your's stood." [Laughter and applause.]

The lady did not like it. She did not like my reference to my grandfather. She said, "I descended from a long line of Revolutionary ancestors." I answered, "Yes, that is exactly what you have done; you have descended from a long line of Revolutionary ancestors; and I have ascended from a line of Revolutionary ancestors, and I would rather ascend from my ancestors than descend from them any time." [Laughter and applause.]

That is just the trouble with a great many people who catch a glimpse of a sublime idea. They fail to make its application to everyday life. If these excellent ladies would make that application to everyday life for just one moment, if the Democrats would make the application of democracy to everyday life for just one moment, they would see the inconsistency of opposing the fundamental principles of democracy and the fundamental principles in whose defense their ancestors died.

Our ancestors are all dead, excellent people that they were, and the only reason to commemorate their death is not because they are dead, but because they stood for something worth dying for.

If we are to be honored it can only be because we also stand for something worthy, not because we had ancestors who did what we dare not do.

If we look over the history of this country, gentlemen, and see what it is that we do commemorate, what we do hold in reverence, what as American people we are proud of, we will find it is always because of some fundamental principle of democracy incorporated into the life of the Nation, some democratic step taken by the people, which brings our Government more nearly into conformity with its fundamental theories and ideals.

We look over the past and we see how gradually one group of people after another have been accorded the right of self-government, and we rejoice in that spirit of democratic progress and in the age which recognized it. And now there is left only the womanhood of this Nation, one-half of the people who, as I said in the beginning, have paid the dearest price for freedom which any group of people ever did pay, one class of people who are more worthy of it than any other class to whom it has been extended in this country, at the time when it was extended to that class.

At the time when suffrage was extended to any particular class of men, whether it was to the church members who came across the sea in search of freedom, as our Puritan ancestors did, or to the tax-paying citizens after the close of the Revolution, or to the laboring men of this country, to whom suffrage was extended by the splendid democracy of Jefferson, or to the black men of the country, to whom the right of self-government was extended by the Republicans, no matter to what class of men the right of suffrage has been extended, no class was as fitted to exercise it as intelligently or more patriotically than are the women of this Nation at this time. [Applause.]

For almost 70 years the women of this country have been patiently working for woman suffrage (I am the president and these are the representatives of the national society, numbering more than 240,000 cooperative members and more than 40,000 paid members) and from the time of its infancy, when those splendid stateswomen, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelly Foster, Lucy Stone, and the noblest Roman of them all, Susan B. Anthony [applause], year after year came on their pilgrimage here to make their plea for democracy, all down through these years women have appealed to Congress and with the men of the United States for that right protective of all rights—the ballot. These women who were greater stateswomen than the women who manage the suffrage movement to-day, because they were born in more rugged times, when they had a more rugged culture, these women grasped the fundamental principle of democracy as it had never been grasped by any body of men in the world, for if it had been we would not be disfranchised to-day.

These women recognized that the best way, the quickest way, and the surest way in which suffrage could be extended to the whole womanhood of the Nation was by a sixteenth amendment to the National Constitution. And so year after year they came, pleading for a sixteenth amendment. We can no longer plead for a sixteenth amendment. Ours must now be the eighteenth amendment to the National Constitution. We hope it will become the eighteenth amendment to the National Constitution, and we hope that, Mr.

Chairman, because of the attitude of fairness of the men who compose this body at the present time. [Applause.]

I do not always believe what I read in the papers, but there are some things I believe because I want to believe them; and when I read that the chairman of this committee said that he would accept the chairmanship only on condition that it should become an active committee; that it should really do its duty; that it should make this question, just as all other committees make the questions which come before them, one of importance, and one which the gentlemen would consider and upon which they would report just as if it were the demand of men of the country, and believing in this sense of justice in this committee, we reasoned that a Congress which appoints such a committee has the same sense of justice, and consequently we look with hope to the present Congress for speedy action upon this measure, just as we hope, Mr. Chairman, your committee will report it favorably.

We have appeared in the past when we knew the committee would not report it favorably. We have begged that they would report it adversely. We have also urged with our committees heretofore that they would ask Congress to appoint a commission to investigate the workings of woman suffrage, for we believed a proper investigation by a responsible body would bring out such evidence that the Nation could no longer refuse with any show of justice to extend suffrage to woman.

Though we have asked that this should be done, our request has never been granted until recently, and that commission is now, I understand, appointed. Your committee has been appointed with the view of dealing fairly and justly with us. Why should we not hope for favorable action by a Congress so just?

Women suffragists claim that it is the right of any woman not to vote if she does not wish to, as it is the right of every man. But we claim that no human being has a right to deprive another human being of the citizen's right to cast a ballot simply because she does not wish to perform her duty and is not patriotic enough to desire to serve her country. [Applause.]

We make our claim as an organization upon the fundamental principles of democracy, and from the just application of those principles to women there is no escape. We do not ask for any special privileges. We do not ask for any special consideration on account of our sex; but we say that whatever qualifications are applied to male citizens should be applied to us, and no others. That the Government has a right to protect itself against any undesirable group of citizens no one can deny.

If it can be proven that women are undesirable citizens, that they would be destructive of the best interests of the country, there would be some basis for the arguments of our opponents. But whenever a democracy prescribes any qualifications for citizenship it must prescribe such a qualification as will apply equally to all of the citizens of the Government. And so long as this Government does that women have no complaint whatever. When the Government says the citizens shall be 21 years of age, we say that is a reasonable qualification and we accept it. When the Government says we shall either be born in the United States or become naturalized, we can accept that qualification as essential to good citizenship. When the Gov-

ernment says we shall reside in the community a certain length of time or in the State a certain other length of time, again we acquiesce and say that that is fair and we have no complaint. The Government might even go further and we would concede that the citizen should be obliged to read the ballot before he cast it. We would accept that provided it were a universal demand for all the citizens of the country.

Is it not remarkable how afraid men are of female ignorance and how they desire to incorporate into the electorate all the male ignorance they can get there, since to make possible for the most ignorant man to vote they put symbols on the ballot, such as a rooster or an eagle, so that he may have something to guide his weak intelligence, so that a man who has intelligence enough to know the difference between a rooster and an eagle or a man with a hammer or a water pitcher, will know how to vote? [Applause.]

Gentlemen, women would not object to having these symbols taken away, as they are being removed in the States where women vote—one State after another. Wyoming never had them; Colorado has removed them; Washington, I believe, has removed them or is in the process of removing them. California is advocating their removal. Wherever women vote there will be an agitation for removal of these symbols from the ballot. And when they are all removed, and all the citizens of this Nation are entitled to vote more women will be voting than men because more women in the United States will be able to read their ballots. [Applause.]

I speak of this only because I have heard the statement made over and over again that men are afraid of adding the large illiterate vote of the women to the illiterate vote of the men of to-day. While we will add some illiterates, about 3,000,000, you know we will add 24,000,000 of voters and you can afford out of 24,000,000 voters to take 3,000,000 of illiteracy and have 21,000,000 of intelligence left. [Applause.]

But we will not only cancel our 3,000,000 of illiteracy by 3,000,000 of intelligence, which will leave us 18,000,000 of intelligence, but being generous to men, as always, we will give you 4,000,000 of intelligent women to cancel 4,000,000 of ignorant men, and then we will have left 14,000,000 of intelligence to add to your 21,000,000 of intelligence, and see what an improvement that will be in the whole Nation. [Applause.]

While it is true, as one of the speakers this morning said, that we will not add ideal perfection or divine wisdom, we will add something, the very something our country most needs. If men would apply common sense to this matter, but the difficulty with men, most men, is that they do not apply common sense to the woman suffrage movement. Men use a good deal of common sense when they talk about each other's rights. They have a high sense of justice when they speak of justice as applied to men. They have a broad sense of fair play when applied to each other, but the moment they begin to discuss women and their relations to world problems then common sense, justice, and fair play fly to the wind and sentiment takes its place. It is sentimental discussion always. "I do not want my daughter, I do not want my wife, I do not want my mother to do this, that, or the other"—something that men never did in all their lives while they voted. In the Missouri Legislature, as I was pass-

ing out of the house, where I spoke before the body, one gentleman said, "I do not want my wife to go down to the lower end of my city to vote with 50,000 of the lowest people in town." I could not help saying to him, "Does your wife live in the lowest end of the city?" He replied that she did not. I said, "Do you vote there?" He replied, "Why, of course I do not." "Then," I said, "just why should your wife, who has respect enough and intelligence enough to select you as her husband, immediately that she is free rush from her home to vote at the lowest end of the city with the people to whom you refer?"

Such statements are made over and over again without any thought whatever. That man did not realize that his wife would probably take his arm and go to the polls as she would go to church, and under better conditions, because in voting she would only vote with her neighbors. Yet those are the sort of arguments that have weight with men to-day.

I have just come from the campaign in Michigan, and if any body of women ought to be loved for the enemies they make it is the women who are working for woman suffrage there. If you could see the groups of people banded to defeat us and the measures that they adopted you would not wonder how we were defeated. One of the gentlemen to-day spoke of the moving pictures that are shown where women are excluded. In their fight against woman suffrage they have gone so far as to put on exhibition in moving-picture theaters ridiculous caricatures of woman suffrage, showing the destruction of the home. They have gone so far as to say that it means the closing up of all picture shows, because the governor of the State of Michigan advocated the supervision of moving pictures, and the governor is a suffragist.

You will always find that the people and the influences that are corrupting the youth are organized to defeat us; it is the kind of antisuffrage influence that has defeated us in every State where our amendment has failed to pass.

The groups of people who have stood by us and have passed resolutions favoring suffrage are those who are seeking the well-being of society. Not a single one whose purpose is the undermining of the virtue of the people has ever passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage, has ever worked for it, has ever stood by and advocated its passage at the polls, but every kind of an organization whose purpose is the destruction of the moral sentiment of the community, the degradation of humanity, and the destruction of the virtue of boyhood and girlhood have banded themselves together, have cooperated to defeat us, and have defeated us every time we have ever been defeated at any election.

And the only trouble with us is this, we are not so sure how the good men will vote as we are of bad men. I have as much faith in men, I believe there are so many more good men than bad men, that if I was only as sure how every good man would vote on our question as I am how every bad man will vote on it, I would know exactly how the amendment was going, and I would go home with a light heart. It is not the good men we are afraid of. It is not the men who care for their homes and society, it is not the men who want the best conditions for society and their country of whom we women are afraid. Those we fear are those who to-day are destroying the home,

who are making it impossible for us to send our little girls to school in the morning and know that they will come back home at night, the men and women who make it impossible for the little girl of the poor to go on an errand and know that the child will come home again; the men and women who play upon the poverty, the hunger, and the destitution of the young girls who are making the most magnificent fight that any army of soldiers ever made for honesty and justice—the working women of this country. They are preying on them because life is so hard. [Applause.]

It is, gentlemen, these men whom we fear, and these men and women who are working for this condition only of whom we need to be afraid.

We do not fear that little band of professional antiwomen going around the country advocating home, heaven, and mother. We are not at all disturbed by them. The only purpose they serve is that by holding out their skirts they act as a screen for the liquor traffic, the gamblers, the vicious, and those interested in dance halls and places where young girls are ruined. These people have a good screen behind which they can hide, and carry on their antagonism and their opposition to our movement. [Applause.]

I am so pained that good women do not know that they are being used for that purpose.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we thank you for the courtesy of the hearing. You have had to hear us many times, and we were warned the other day not to antagonize Congress by coming here too often, not to worry the President. In answer I would say that Congress and the President have it all in their hands to stop us any time. They can cut it off now—because we will come, gentlemen, and our children will come, and our children's children will come until this country, a democracy in name, shall become a democracy in fact. [Applause.]

We thank you gentlemen for the courtesy of the hearing. We thank you for the generosity you have shown in giving your time, and we ask you as we have always asked every senatorial committee before which we have appeared, that we may have as large an edition of the hearings printed as possible, just as large as your conscience will allow you to ask for.

The CHAIRMAN. You shall have as large as the committee having control of the printing will give you.

Dr. SHAW. But we want you to make it as large as you can. And then we hope that the committee will think you have not made it large enough and order a larger edition.

We thank you in the name of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, and in behalf of the women who have given their lives for the great principles of democracy for which you gentlemen stand. [Applause.]

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock, the committee adjourned.)

The chairman announced, with the approval of the committee, that the following paper would be printed as a part of the record:

THE CROWNING CONSTITUTION ARGUMENT.

(By Mary E. Walker, M. D. N. P.)

Whereas the women were voting in several of the 13 States before the Constitution of the United States was written, and that they enjoyed the rights of

citizenship or they could not have been so voting; and whereas in New Jersey they continued to vote until 1844, long after the writers and the adopters of said Constitution had passed away, the equality of the sexes had been established. For 40 years before delegates were sent to Philadelphia for the purpose of making a blanket Constitution to cover all of the States, for the purpose of protecting in a perfect manner the rights of the citizens of all States equally, and that they were four months in performing this duty, evidences the great care taken for the preservation of all of the citizens' rights.

No State was allowed to make any law to abridge the privileges or immunities of any citizens of the United States, and the penalty for making any laws by any State which was in conflict with the Constitution of the United States was a pronunciamento of null and void.

The Constitution provides that all persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside. It also provides that any State that passes any law in conflict with the United States Constitution is null and void. The Constitution of the United States guaranteed a republican form of government to every State, and the putting the word "male" in any State constitution or any restriction on account of sex are null and void, according to said Constitution, since a republican form of government means, as is said in that Constitution, that all are born free and equal, and any restriction on account of sex evidences tyranny, and it can not be a republican form of government when a part of the people are excluded from that equality which the United States Constitution guarantees.

The reason our forefathers began the Constitution with "we, the people," instead of "we, the men," was because the women were citizens and voters for 40 years before and at the time of the writing of that Constitution. And any attempt to change that Constitution in the interest of women is legislative tautology unworthy the Members of the United States Congress, and evidences ignorance of the same.

The reason why the Woman's Suffrage Committee has not acted upon the suggestion of some women to make a report to pass an amendment to the United States Constitution in the interest of women is because they understood this question and would not be guilty of tautology.

Margaret Brent, a relative of Lord Baltimore, asked to have a plurality of votes because men at that time who owned slaves, had plurality because of their holdings; but when an investigation had been made regarding her holdings, she was informed that they were not sufficient to give her plurality of votes. That report established the rights of citizens, both men and women, who were not entitled to plurality of votes, to the franchise.

The fact that the women in New Jersey had also been voting for years before the Constitution was framed, clearly shows that there was no intention of the writers of the Constitution of the United States, to attempt to exclude women from the franchise, and thus prevent this being a truly republican form of government.

A null and void law was passed in the legislature in the State of New Jersey in 1844 preventing the women from thereafter exercising their rights of franchise; but as women did not then understand the Constitution of the United States, and did not know that such act was null and void, and that they could have their rights restored, by appealing to the Supreme Bench of the United States, or to the Attorney General, therefore they submitted to the wrong, knowing that the legislators passed that act, because they knew that the women would never return them to the legislature if they passed acts that they disapproved.

The present Committee on Woman Suffrage do not know that the reason no former committee would make a report in favor of an amendment to the United States Constitution, was because Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, and a large part of United States Senators, and Representatives, were thorough believers that the Constitution of the United States made all citizens equal before the law, and recognized the fact that they were citizens before the Constitution was made, or they could not have been voting.

It is well known that a foreigner has to be naturalized before he is considered a citizen, and that just as soon as he is naturalized he is entitled to the franchise.

Years ago, before the Crowning Constitution Argument was written, it was believed that women were not citizens, and that therefore before they could

be entitled to vote there would have to be an amendment to the United States Constitution to make them voters as an outcome of citizenship.

But for some half a dozen women, who assumed leadership in the woman's franchise movement, seeing that they could get no more money out of women for the purpose of coming to Congress to advocate an amendment to the United States Constitution, if the women of the country were enlightened regarding their status, all women would have voted ere this.

These women have resorted to many tricks and falsehoods to prevent the masses of women from understanding this argument, as to understand it would prevent their giving money for the purpose of advocating the amendment of the United States Constitution to give to them rights that had existed before that document was written, and by the provisions of that document preserving such rights, showing no need of an amendment.

The conduct of such women is to be regretted, since if they had not held the wheels of progress and knowledge back every woman in these United States, who desired to exercise the franchise, would ere the present time have done so.

In all fairness and justice the committee with whom an amendment to the Constitution in regard to women is before, can not report in favor of making a law that is already established by the Constitution of the United States.

After the close of the Civil War men's hands were placed over the ballot boxes to prevent women from exercising their rights of franchise, and this was a matter of physical tyranny because of woman's less physical strength.

The report of the Woman's Suffrage Committee ought to read:

"The foregoing arguments of the antis and the suffragists, both men and women, are splendid, but the crowning Constitution argument of Dr. Mary E. Walker was not heard, as it was announced it would be, but is printed as a part of this report, and your committee comprehending the same recommends that the joint resolution do not pass, because it is tautology."

To sum up, the 13 small Republics did not relinquish any of their republican rights.

Some were one year, some two years, and some three years before they ratified the blanket—the United States Constitution.

There was not a suggestion to make a half Republic by excluding women from their existing rights of suffrage, and they continued to exercise such rights until unconstitutionally deprived of the same in 1844, in New Jersey.

Clergymen did not see their rights of franchise until during the Civil War, and they did not ask the United States Congress to amend the United States Constitution to make them citizens and voters, but took their rights as soon as they realized that they belonged to them, just as women should do.

Members of the United States Congress can not afford to have themselves charged with legislative tautology.

The greater the number who are clamoring for a wrong enactment, the greater the obligation of those who see the right to make all possible efforts to enlighten.

A United States Senator before the committee favored an act to make women voters without an amendment, not knowing that Congress had no jurisdiction and not knowing the provisions of the United States Constitution showing that women are, and have always been, equal with men in all rights and privileges.

Those women who knew this influenced the rank and file of women to use every effort not to have the United States Constitution argument set forth at the hearing, as it would spoil everything before the committee, and that such effort prevailed, and no one pretended to make even an allusion to tautology, in an amendment to the United States Constitution that the crowning Constitution argument clearly showed.

That there should not be time to disseminate such knowledge since the hearing these women had letters sent to the various clubs of this city and to individuals, urging them to use all possible influence with every member of the Woman Suffrage Committee to hasten a report from such committee.

Ex-Senator Dixon, from Montana, chairman of the Bull Moose committee, said: "The rattle about the United States Constitution is pitiably thin."

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63D CONGRESS, 1st Session. | SENATE. | REPORT No. 64.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

JUNE 13, 1913.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. ASHURST, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following

REPORT.

[To accompany S. J. Res. 1.]

The Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, having under consideration Senate joint resolution No. 1, introduced by Mr. Chamberlain, to wit:

JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

By direction of a majority of the committee the resolution is reported favorably and with the recommendation that it do pass. The question of granting to women the elective franchise being one of far-reaching consequences and vast importance, involving the political rights of one-half of the citizens of the United States, the committee (notwithstanding the able arguments on this subject and exhaustive reports which have been submitted to Congress from time to time since 1866) took the view that a full and complete hearing should be had; whereupon a number of eminent persons addressed the committee in support of and against the resolution.

PROGRESS.

Observant persons will not fail to notice that marked changes in political and social conditions in the United States are now taking

place; that the conditions under which we have been living are rapidly changing, and that many, if not most, of the American people now recognize that society and government are dynamic, *not* static in character. It is not necessary, in the scope of this report, to discuss *all* the causes of these changes, but it will not be denied that some of the contributing causes thereof are the adoption of improved means of transportation; the ready communication among the people afforded by the telephone, the telegraph, the post offices, and the excellent facilities for obtaining education and the transmission of intelligence afforded by the schools, the newspapers, and the magazines.

Some statesmen, publicists, and editors deplore the fact that we are now living in an age of inquiry, criticism, and searching analysis, but fortunately the country realizes that smug contentment is a corrosive effluent, deadly to the progress, advancement, and happiness of a nation. A people free from the exigencies of life—free from the desire to bring about a betterment of conditions—lose that keen incentive to improvement which adds so much zest, beauty, and grace to life.

History is largely an account of man's struggle for freedom, and from the beginning of the human race, down to the present time, its tendency has been toward liberty—mankind reaching out for freedom and immeasurably attaining it.

American civil liberty is the fruitage of many centuries of earnest and patriotic endeavor. The preservation of civil liberty will always depend upon the vigilance and zeal of those who love freedom, and if a people do not love liberty well enough to contend for it, if a people prefer turgid quietude to the boisterousness of liberty they may be sure that the usurpers of power will sooner or later impose tyrannies and despotism upon them.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Only a short time since some of the wisest and most profound citizens of this Republic believed that by reason of the complicated procedure and large majorities required, it was difficult, if not impossible, to amend the Constitution of the United States, and some eminent statesmen even urged that strained constructions should be placed upon the Constitution so as to change somewhat the structure of our political system, bring it into conformity with the dynamic conditions of the day, and thus secure needful reforms.

Dicey says of amending the Constitution of the United States:

> The sovereign of the United States has been roused to serious action but once during the course of 90 years. It needed the thunder of the Civil War to break his repose, and it may be doubted whether anything short of impending revolution will ever again rouse him to activity. But a monarch who slumbers for years is like a monarch who does not exist.

Speaking in the Senate of the United States on the 5th day of July, 1909, Hon. H. D. Money, who was a close observer of men and events, a statesman whose memory this Nation reveres, a scholar, thinker, and orator whose services here added glory and usefulness to this body, said:

Mr. President, I am one of those who believe that there never will be another amendment to the Constitution of the United States. * * * I do not believe this amendment (income-tax amendment) to the Constitution will ever be a part of it * * *.

But contrary to the opinion which a few years since prevailed among many thinking people, within the past five months two amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been proclaimed, and they were adopted under the procedure which is indisputably complicated and involved. The adoption of these amendments, in addition to the valuable reforms they will bring about, has convinced the American people that our Federal Constitution is a living, breathing, dynamic force that protects persons as well as property, and that it is not a procrustean bed of fixity incapable of amendment or change.

During the Sixty-second Congress, from December 4, 1911, to December 4, 1912, 21 amendments were proposed to the Constitution of the United States, and the feeling that the Constitution may be amended is not confined to any one political party. To this date, during the Sixty-third Congress, 14 proposals to amend the Constitution of the United States have been introduced in the Senate and 32 proposals in the House of Representatives, demonstrating that the "let-alone," noninterference, careless, laisser faire policy does not meet the demand of the present day.

"New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo, before us gleam her camp fires;
We ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly
Through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future portals
With the past's blood-rusted key."

But it can not fairly be argued that the proposed constitutional amendment which provides that the rights of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, by reason of sex, is a new, "novel," or "radical" movement, for every phase of this subject has been discussed from time to time by many of the ablest minds of the Nation. It has been considered in its relation to the Constitution, and constitutional law bearing upon such polity has been given earnest and careful consideration.

On July 2, 1776, two days before the Declaration of Independence was signed, New Jersey, in her first State constitution, enfranchised the women by changing the words of her provincial charter from "Male freeholders worth fifty pounds" to "*all inhabitants* worth fifty pounds," and for 31 years the women of that State voted.

GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden and in a few other places in the Old World.

Time.	Place.	Kind of suffrage.
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	Do.
1876	Colorado	Do.
1877	New Zealand	Do.
1878	New Hampshire	Do.
	Oregon	Do.
1879	Massachusetts	Do.
1880	New York	Do.
	Vermont	Do.
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	Do.
1886	New Zealand	Do.
	New Brunswick	Do.
1887	Kansas	Do.
	Nova Scotia	Do.
	Manitoba	Do.
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	Do.
	Montana	Do.
	Arizona	Do.
	New Jersey	Do.
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	Do.
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	Do.
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	Do.
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage, married and single women.
1895	South Australia	Full State suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	Do.
1898	Ireland	All offices except Members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce.
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full State suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage; local taxation in all towns and villages of the State.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full State suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full State suffrage.
1905	Queensland	Do.
1906	Finland	Full suffrage; eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities, and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen, and county and town councilors.
	Oklahoma	New State continued school suffrage for women.

Time.	Place.	Kind of suffrage.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers or wives of taxpayers vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full State suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the counsells des prud-hommes, and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol)	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	Diet of the Crown Prince of Krain (Austria)	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Wurtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the chamber of agriculture; also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages, and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage.
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city, Belize.
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.
1912	Oregon	Full suffrage.
1912	Arizona	Do.
1912	Kansas	Do.
1913	Alaska	Do.

We do not feel called upon, in this report, to discuss (if indeed it be debatable) the question as to the equality or inequality of the two sexes from an intellectual standpoint. It is, or at least ought to be, an axiom of American liberty that a *class* of persons obedient to the laws as are the women; a class which has a peculiar care for the rights of others; a class which is taxed upon its labor and property for the support of the Government; which is liable to punishment for acts which the law makes criminal; which is patriotic, learned, and in a large measure capable of the highest degree of efficiency in the useful arts and sciences; which is patient beyond estimate and constantly pouring forth costly sacrifices for the common good of the species, *should not be denied* a voice in the enactment and enforcement of laws and concerns of the Government.

"Government is simply a tool in the hands of the people for the fashioning of that people's civilization." Government is strong or weak, capable or deficient, according to the people who control and make up that Government. In this Republic the people constitute the Government. They are its creators and its maintenance; *they are the Government.* That the granting of the elective franchise to women would add to the strength, efficiency, justice, and fairness of government we have not the slightest doubt, and this is especially true in the United States where all power is reposed in the people with universal suffrage as the primal basis of its exercise. "The people" includes women who can not be denied those political privileges and responsibilities which men claim and assert for themselves without doing violence to the fundamental principles of our Government.

It is anomalous and archaic, in a free Republic, professedly made up *of*, controlled *by*, and administered *for* all the people to deny to one-half of its citizens the right of exercising a valuable function of citizenship, to wit, the elective franchise, and thus preclude that

one-half from the right and power to say what law or polity shall be its rule of conduct. And this anomaly becomes odious and abhorrent when we reflect that the particular one-half of citizenship thus excluded is the identical one-half from which springs so much wisdom, courage, cheer, hope, and good counsel. In this Republic we are in constant warfare against fraud and violence, avarice and cupidity, and in behalf of liberty and justice whose success will be accelerated by extending the franchise to women, in whom the materialistic is generally submerged for the idealistic; a class of voters which looks to all laws and movements as to how such laws and movements will affect her children; how such laws and conditions will promote morals, human health, and human progress, more *especially than* as to how this or that particular law or polity will develop or serve material or property interests. In other words, as has been said, "Man looks after the affairs of life, but woman looks after life itself."

Woman's sphere, her ideals and her duties, make her the inescapable and essential conservator of human life, charged as she is with the duty of conserving the human race; and it is in harmony with political and natural justice to accord to her the right to say what laws shall assist her in bringing about the betterment of economic conditions.

AMERICAN CITIZENS.

This question as to who is an American citizen was left somewhat in doubt by the Constitution of the United States until the adoption of the fourteenth amendment in 1868, when that amendment, in the first section thereof, created a distinct Federal citizenship, as follows:

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, *are citizens of the United States*, and of the State wherein they reside. * * *

The rights attaching to an American citizen may be divided into two classes, that is to say, civil rights and political rights. On the ground of public policy, minors, incompetents, and others are frequently denied political rights. The right of suffrage (that is, elective franchise, or the right to vote) is a political right which upon the grounds of sound public policy and a due regard for the genius of our form of government should never be withheld from a class of citizens, fairly and in good faith proved to be worthy of possessing this right. That the class of citizens described in the above resolution (females) has abundantly demonstrated it is eminently worthy of possessing such a right, has never been successfully contradicted. In determining whether or not a particular class of citizens is entitled to the elective franchise the following rules, set down by S. E. Forman, Ph. D., in his Advanced Civics (see p. 106), will be found useful, and if a class fairly and in good faith meets the requirements of these conditions, it is respectfully submitted that the elective franchise should be granted to such class. The things to be considered, therefore, are as follows:

1. Will this class of citizens (females) vote whenever the lawful opportunity is presented?

2. Will this class of citizens (females) attempt to comprehend the questions upon which it votes?

3. Will this class of citizens (females) attempt to learn something of the character and fitness of the persons for whom it votes?

4. Will this class vote against dishonest persons for office?

5. Will this class oppose dishonest measures?

6. Will this class refuse, directly or indirectly, to accept a bribe, and refuse, directly or indirectly, to give a bribe?

7. Will this class place country above party?

8. Will this class recognize the result of the election as the will of the people, and therefore as the law?

9. Will this class continue to fight for a righteous, although defeated, cause so long as there is a reasonable hope of success?

10. Is this class of citizens able to read and write?

11. Does this class of citizens pay taxes?

We submit that the class of voters (females) sought to be enfranchised by this resolution answers each and every one of these interrogatories with distinguished credit to itself and that it fully, fairly, and in good faith measures up to these requirements.

We therefore, upon all grounds, conclude that the resolution should be submitted to the States for their adoption or ratification.

Subjoined to this report, and made part thereof, will be found a memorial of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, being Senate Document No. 519, Sixty-first Congress, second session.

[Senate Document No. 519, Sixty-first Congress, second session.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, representing the women of the United States desiring the right of suffrage and now being represented in national convention, representing nearly every State in the Union, respectfully demand the recognition by Congress of the right to vote for those women of the United States who possess equal qualifications with men in the matter of intelligence or other conditions imposed by the several States upon the exercise of suffrage.

We ask legislation which will provide that no citizen of the United States be denied or abridged the right of vote by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

We ask that an amendment be submitted to the fifteenth article of the Constitution of the United States, so that it shall read as follows, to wit:

"ARTICLE XV.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, sex, or previous condition of servitude."

The reasons for our request are as follows:

(1) The women of the United States are citizens of the United States, entitled by nature to an equal right, to enjoy the opportunities of life.

(2) They perform half the work of the United States.

(3) They bear all of the children of the United States.

(4) They educate these children.

(5) They inculcate in these children lessons of morality, of religion, of industry, of civic righteousness, and of civic duty.

(6) They deserve to be honored by the children of the country as entitled to equal dignity and honor possessed by men.

(7) They pay half of the taxes of the United States.

(8) They possess half of the property of the United States, or at least they are entitled to possess half of the property of the United States by virtue of labor performed and duty well done.

Their property and their right to liberty and to life are subject to law. The law controls the property rights of women and the rights of women to life, liberty, and

the pursuit of happiness, and, therefore, we demand the right to a voice in the election of Representatives to write these statutes and to execute them.

We notify you that the injustice of the past, denying us these obvious rights, will no longer be patiently endured. You can not, in the presence of God and with a clean conscience, deny the validity of the reasons we present justifying our demand.

Answer these arguments.

Answer these sound reasons with a good conscience, and you are compelled to yield to the righteous demand of the women of America.

You well know, as students of history and as students of statecraft, that the ballot is the right protective of every other right, and, knowing this, how will you deny women equal opportunity to earn equal wages for equal labor?

Will you suggest that good women will not vote and bad women will vote? This most untrue and unkind suggestion has been emphatically and finally answered by history, which demonstrates that the same percentage of women vote as men, and that the vote of undesirable women is an utterly negligible quantity. That women are not to be regarded as bringing to suffrage a preponderance of evil, but that their vote has brought to use of the state an important influence in the interest and well-being of children; new and stronger laws for the protection and advancement of the interest of children; new and better laws for the preservation of the public health; new and better laws for decency in administration and the beautifying of cities, and more worthy candidates by all parties are offered where women vote.

We demand the right of suffrage because it is justified by every natural right, beause it can not be denied by conscientious, thoughtful, studious men who desire to deal justly with all human beings alike. We desire these rights in order to raise in dignity and power the mothers of this Nation, and for the broader reasons, that no nation ever rises higher than the motherhood of the nation, and the welfare of this Nation is not promoted by denying to the mothers of the nation the elemental right of suffrage which is essential, not only to protect their own rights of life, liberty, property, and pursuit of happiness, but to protect their children, whom they have so loved, from the treacherous pitfalls that line the pathway of life.

Very obediently, yours,

ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
President of National American Woman Suffrage Association.
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
First Vice President.
CATHERINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
Second Vice President.
MARY WARE DENNETT,
Corresponding Secretary.
ELLA SEASS STEWART,
Recording Secretary.
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, *Treasurer.*
LAURA CLAY, *Auditor.*
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, *Auditor.*

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